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ABSTRACT

An exploratory study making use of ethnographic and grounded theory methods was carried out with two Hispanic and two Black American working-class families. Exploration focused on how cognitive processes taking place in the natural setting of the family can best be understood. In order to uncover the intellectual interactions that take place in the course of everyday activities, several areas of household activity were examined, including household management, entertainment, religious and special interest activities, and family record keeping. This report presents extracts of the field materials as a basis for considering levels of data in ethnographic texts and indicates how these data may increase understanding of the many layers of experience and communication within families. The report suggests, first, that examination of family members' everyday routine analysis of social behavior and education--members' "everyday social science"--is a useful approach to understanding cognitive or intellectual processes. Second, the analysis indicates that the interactional view of educative styles and agendas can be augmented through closer examination of the characterizations which family members make of each other with respect to their educative styles and agendas, as well as through an examination of pedagogic styles and agendas. In conclusion, some reflections are offered about the conditions under which ethnographic and grounded theory methods are appropriate. (RH)

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AN EXAMINATION OF COGNITIVE PROCESSES IN EVERYDAY FAMILY LIFE

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PREFACE

The "Examination of Cognitive Processes in Everyday Family Life" was carried out under a grant from the National Institute of Education (NIE-G-79-0177).

The research was conducted at the Elbenwood Center for the Study of the Family as Educator, Teachers College, Columbia University. Hope Jensen Leichter was principal investigator and Vera Hamid-Buglione was project coordinator. The ethnographic fieldwork was carried out by Carmen Rodriguez and Royce M. Phillips. Spenser H. Jameson facilitated initial contacts with families, and, as a faculty consultant, he and Royce M. Phillips contributed to the analysis of data. Bruce R. Buglione also contributed to the analysis of data and the preparation of the report.

We wish to express our appreciation to Eric Larsen for the insightful editorial consultation, to Robert J. Schwarz for the extraordinary organizational skill he brought to processing of the report, and to Madeline Flannery for valuable assistance.

Ethnographic research is a difficult and demanding enterprise that rests above all on the willingness of families to collaborate in the study, admitting an outsider to their private world, and helping that outsider achieve and understanding of them. We urge readers to ask themselves whether they would be willing to have an ethnographer come into their homes with notepads and tape recorders and an open-ended mandate to learn as much as possible about their educational lives. We are extremely grateful for the generous cooperation we received from the families. The names in the report are not the real names of the families; we have made every effort to respect their confidentiality. But we wish to express our enthusiastic appreciation to all of them.

ABSTRACT

AN EXAMINATION OF COGNITIVE PROCESSES IN EVERYDAY FAMILY LIFE

The research rests on the premise that significant cognitive or intellectual processes take place in everyday family activities, and that an understanding of these processes can augment the knowledge of families as educators that is essential for educational practice.

The concepts of educative styles and educative agendas were the framework for the research. These concepts direct attention to one aspect of cognitive interactions, the ways in which individuals approach education as they engage in, move through and combine educational experiences in different settings. Using this interactional framework, the aim was to develop procedures for examining the intersection between individual characteristics and social situations, that is, the ways in which individual approaches to education are developed, modified, and sustained in family interaction.

An exploratory study, making use of ethnographic and grounded theory methods, was carried out with four working class families--two Hispanic and two Black American--living in the New York City area. The fieldwork was carried out by two ethnographers whose ethnicity matched that of the two families with whom they worked. Several areas of household activity were examined: household management, entertainment, religious and special interest activities, and family record-keeping in order to uncover the intellectual interactions that take place in the course of these activities.

The report presents extracts of the field materials as a basis for considering levels of data in ethnographic texts, seen as joint constructions of the ethnographer and the family members produced under particular circumstances, and how these data may help to achieve an understanding of the many layers of experience and communication within families.

The analysis focuses on ways of examining educative styles and agendas from an interactional perspective. It results in clarification of concepts for further research. First, it suggests that an examination of the everyday analysis of social behavior and education that family members engage in routinely--their everyday social science--is a useful approach to cognitive or intellectual processes. Second, it suggests that the interactional view of educative styles and agendas can be augmented through closer examination of the characterizations which family members make of each other with respect to their educative styles and agendas, and through an examination of pedagogic styles and agendas.

Since the study was an exploration, making use of ethnographic and grounded theory methods, some reflections are offered about the conditions under which these methods are appropriate.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In his introduction to Cognitive Development, David Olson (1970) describes his search for an understanding of the child's acquisition of diagonality as an odyssey, extending over ten years, in which one question led to another and yet another, and the search concluded with a "new set of conjectures"--"conjectures that would probably serve better to introduce a volume than to conclude one" (p. 203). This was true despite the fact that his initial focus was a rather specific observation, that a five year old child found it harder to reproduce diagonal than horizontal or vertical lines, and despite the fact that his data were mainly derived from experimental studies of children, conducted in the tradition of Jerome Bruner and other cognitive psychologists with whom he collaborated.

Our search in studying cognitive processes in everyday family life started from a different, although we believe ultimately compatible, perspective. Our search, too, although on a smaller scale and over a shorter period, has been a kind of odyssey in which one question led to another and yet another, and in which the search has concluded with conjectures and questions for further research. The odyssey quality results, no doubt, from the nature of inquiry in the behavioral sciences as much as from the particular perspectives and methodology we employed. At the same time, it is explicitly built into ethnographic and theory discovering methods.

II. BASIC ASSUMPTIONS AND QUESTIONS

The basic question in the present research was how the cognitive processes that take place in the natural setting of the family can best be understood. This focus derived from our view of the "state of the art" in research on families as educators and rested on a number of assumptions:

(1) that cognition is not merely a process going on "in the head" of the individual but also one that takes place in interaction with others;

(2) that significant cognitive or intellectual interactions take place in the course of everyday family activities;

(3) that the cognitive or intellectual processes that take place in families are particularly significant, since the family is the setting of the individual's earliest development, one to which most individuals return throughout their adult lives;

(4) that family interactions are conditioned by values, assumptions, and expectations transmitted from the larger society and embodied in the language;

(5) that research in the special conditions of laboratory settings does not apply immediately to understanding cognitive or intellectual processes as they take place in everyday social settings;

(6) that the ways in which individuals approach education in institutions outside the family, e.g., schools, community agencies, and other educative institutions--their educative styles and agendas--derive, in part, from their family experience.

It might have been best if we had used the term "intellectual interaction" or "intellectual processes" rather than "cognitive processes," since the term "cognition" has been so closely associated with the field of cognitive psychology, although, as will be seen in the theoretical background discussed below, it is by no means the sole province of psychologists, but is also of concern to anthropologists and sociologists. Our focus on interpersonal processes, i.e., cognitive or intellectual interaction, rests on the fact that less attention has been devoted to studies in this area.

Given these basic assumptions, an attempt to understand the cognitive processes as they take place in everyday family life seemed of both theoretical and practical significance.

We did not presume that the aspects of intellectual interaction in families on which we focused would relate immediately to the numerous highly specific studies by cognitive psychologists carried out in laboratory settings. Since we were working in a new area, with a small scale study, over a short period of time, our primary concern was development of approaches and methods. It would have been premature to seek a direct connection with experimental studies. Beyond this, it would be starting from the wrong end. Our task was to find ways of describing and understanding social environments in which cognition takes place. We assume that a compelling rationale for starting from this end exists--that a fuller understanding of social environments is essential before the differences between laboratory environments and everyday settings can be understood and the implications of laboratory experiments for everyday environments adequately drawn (Cole, Hood, and McDermott, 1978).

It remained to be determined when and where cognitive interactions could best be observed in families and how these could be be recorded and analyzed, although prior and concomitant research at the Elbenwood Center for the Study of the Family as Educator at Teachers College, Columbia University, offered some guidelines.

III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

The basic framework for this particular study derived from two concepts--educative style and educative agenda (Leichter, 1974, 1979). Since the concern was with the social interactions in which cognitive

processes are embedded, not cognition in the mind of the single individual, interactional concepts such as these were essential, for they assume that an intersection exists between the educative styles and agendas of an individual and the social interactions in which the individual engages. The aim was to expand upon and operationalize concepts referring both to individual characteristics and to interpersonal processes in order to find ways of studying this intersection.

The concept of educative style refers to the ways in which individuals engage in, move through, and combine educative experiences over a lifetime. It assumes that individuals differ in such features as the ways in which they search for information, handle criticism, manage embarrassment. It assumes, moreover, that these approaches are not developed and fixed at an early stage but that they are sustained and modified in interactions with others.

The related concept of educative agenda, is, in a sense, a counterpart to the concept of curriculum in the family or the school. It refers not only to long-range plans but also to day-to-day priorities for activities, and the processes by which these priorities are set. While the concept of educative style has helped to guide historical research (Lagemann, 1979) and been expanded through a study of the social networks of teenage students (Hamid, 1979), the development of procedures for the study of educative styles and agendas in everyday family life has barely begun.

The aim, therefore, was to explore cognitive processes in everyday family life through the intermediate concepts of educative style and educative agenda with the aim of finding better ways of observing and analyzing the social interactions in which cognitive processes take place.

These concepts touch on only certain aspects of "cognition." They offer one framework for approaching social settings in which cognitive processes take place and one guide to certain aspects of cognition that are of importance to education.

On first examination, the terms used in describing and illustrating components of educative style (Leichter, 1973) appear rather different from some of the terms used to describe cognition in various disciplines. One may ask if educative styles and agendas are indeed related to what psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists have been concerned with in examining cognition. It is of course true that a variety of approaches to cognition have existed within these various disciplines, ranging from concepts of images or maps of the environment in the head of the individual, to concepts of rules for behavior in the external environment. Beyond this, the concepts with which various disciplines approach cognition, vary in level of generality from such specifics as being able to reproduce a diagonal line to such abstract terms as perception.

But when considered more closely, it will be seen that the characteristics described in the examples of components of educative style are

in fact quite close to processes that have more commonly been considered under the term "cognitive." Consider, for example: search for information, appraise information, plan educational activities, focus attention, coordinate educational activities. These are indeed within the domain that one may term cognition.

The concepts of educative style and educative agenda refer to approaches to education, both in families and in other settings. On the one hand, it is our presumption that individual styles and agendas may carry over from one setting to another. At the same time, it is our presumption that these styles and agendas are enacted in different ways, depending on the characteristics of the particular situation. Thus, a young child may move actively through the household exploring the environment with eagerness and energy, while the same child may be quiet and inhibited in school.

In the analysis of educative styles and agendas, the issue of the comparative importance of enduring characteristics that the individual carries from one situation to another and the impact of particular situations is central. Yet, while the intent was to examine interactions, to ferret out ways in which these interactions modify or sustain individual approaches to education, ways of focusing on interactions remain to be determined. It is especially difficult to find ways of focusing on interactions that enable one at the same time to consider lasting impacts of the interaction on the individual. One cannot, in fact, say anything about how much of the impact of a particular situation, whether it be in family or school, an individual will incorporate as part of his or her approach to education in subsequent situations. The only way to have any assurance of this is to trace the individual from one situation to another. But, substantial prior work is necessary to determine how to observe and analyze interactions in particular settings, i.e., families, that might impact upon individual educative styles and agendas.

Thus, the concepts of educative style and educative agenda focus attention <u>both</u> on characteristics of the individual that are to some extent enduring over time and on characteristics of situations in which the enduring qualities of individuals are sustained or modified. When employing these concepts as a guide for research on cognitive or intellectual processes in everyday family life, we are concerned with finding ways to observe and describe points at which individual characteristics and social situations <u>intersect</u>. Finding ways of describing events within families from this dual perspective is in itself a significant addition to efforts to bring together concepts of individual processes and those of social and cultural settings.

Moreover, we feel that this approach is of central importance to educators who must necessarily face the question of how to look, on the one hand, at those characteristics which individuals bring from one situation to another and, on the other hand, at those features in the organization of situations that constitute the stage for the enactment of individual characteristics.

The concepts of educative style and educative agenda have directed our attention not only to the general approaches that seek to bring together environmental settings and individual characteristics, but more specifically to a number of points in which individuals may be presumed to differ.

It should be useful to spell out several components of educative style, that is, ways in which we presume individuals differ in their approaches to education, as found in the original formulation of the concept.

> There is, for instance, the individual's mode of temporal integration. Individuals differ in the ways in which they integrate experiences at one point in time with those at another. The process of selecting for retention and re-examination varies. Some remember minute details with exact sequence and dating, and are capable of lifting out periods of the past as if they were total units, with the clarity and immediacy of a present-day event; others tend to remember globally and diffusely, with less detail and less clearcut segmenting of time. Some build up discrete layers of memory, while others tend to fuse experience from one stage of life with another.
>
> These differences and modes of integrating experience over time are a critical component of educative style, since learning does not merely take place at a particular moment; rather, the individual moves backward and forward in time, learning from past experiences as they are reinterpreted and re-enacted in combination with newer events.
>
> Another aspect of timing as a component of educative style concerns the speed or pace of learning. It is a truism that some individuals learn faster than others. A good deal of psychological research has addressed itself to the timing of learning--examining such matters as speed, repetition, and the spacing of repetitions. And certain basic anthropological research on the relation of culture and biology has suggested that individual differences in rates of interaction are a fundamental feature of personality organization. Following these leads, one may presume that interaction rates will provide fruitful data for the analysis of educative style.
>
> One other dimension of timing that appears worthy of consideration is the way the individual combines experiences at any given moment. Some individuals are "multi-channeled," some are "single-tracked." Some carry out numerous tasks at the same time, switching from one to another in brief segments; others prefer to do one thing at a time, starting a new task only when the current one is completed.
>
> The point is that all of these aspects of temporal integration will affect not merely the quality and rapidity of

an individual's learning, but his basic approach to educational situations and his ability to profit more from one sort of educational encounter than from another.

Another component of educative style is the manner in which an individual responds to cues from others. Here certain familiar concepts from personality and cultural research have pertinence. David Riesman's now classic distinction between the inner-directed and the other-directed individual is one such concept. He describes the inner-directed person as one controlled by a self-contained gyroscope, moving through experiences in terms of internalized concepts of the desirable and the appropriate. In contrast, the other-directed person has subtle antennae, capable of responding to partial and indirect cues from others, but lacks continuity of self-direction. A good deal of the recent research on "locus of control" has explored similar distinctions. In addition, relating this to the component of temporal integration, inner- and other-directed individuals may differ in their organization of time, some having internal clocks while others order their activities in relation to cues from other, i.e., to external clocks.

Another component of educative style concerns the way in which an individual appraises the values, attitudes, and knowledge suggested to him in various encounters. Some affiliate readily with the beliefs of others, tending to incorporate them wholly and uncritically; others are more discriminating and selective, tending rather to derive their own synthesis. It is probably in this respect that research on those who have undergone drastic shifts in belief system, for example, conversion to religious and social beliefs, may have direct bearing on our understanding of modes of critical appraisal as a component of educative style.

Another component of educative style is the process by which an individual scans and searches the environment for educational opportunities. Some individuals are wide-ranging as they move into the new and unfamiliar, going with pleasure into the geographically, the socially or the intellectually unknown, while others are less expansive and venturesome in their coverage of the field. Some enjoy novelty, some prefer the habitual. Clearly the individual's approach to the new and unfamiliar will profoundly mark his approach to education.

Yet another component of educative style is the individual's strategy for contending with embarrassment. Embarrassment is virtually a universal experience in childhood and adult life; indeed, it is ritually fostered in most societies and often intensely experienced and vividly recalled. Yet some individuals doubtless suffer it more acutely than others, and some clearly transcend it more effectively than others. Certainly the extent to which anticipated embarrassment inhibits the

> trial of novel experience will significantly affect the quality of educational engagement. In this respect, Erving Goffman's analysis of embarrassment and its relation to social organization as well as related anthropological studies of face-saving techniques, e.g., the use of intermediaries, should furnish valuable leads to the student of educative style (Leichter, 1973:240-243).

The concept of educative style is closely related to the concept of learning style that has been proposed by others, but there are some crucial differences. The concept of educative style is basically more inclusive since it is intended to direct attention not merely to learning itself but to the ways in which the individual engages in, moves through, and combines a variety of educative experiences.

The research rests on the assumption that the cognitive or intellectual processes inherent in everyday family activity are important both in their own right and because the same kinds of cognitive processes occur in school and other formal educative institutions. Indeed, in considering the relationship between families and schools, the emphasis sometimes is on schools as the ultimate place in which to examine and measure educational achievement, obscuring the point--noted, of course, by many critics--that the results of schooling should be considered not merely through measures of performance in schools but in terms of how that education serves to improve the individual's functioning in spheres outside of school, e.g., in occupational careers and families. The present concern is with finding ways to observe and analyze those intellectual processes that are embedded in everyday family life, with the presumption that this understanding is important for educators in other institutions.

Yet, studying intellectual processes in families in ways that highlight their resemblance to the intellectual processes in schools is complicated because of the very different social organization of families and schools. School activities are laid out in terms of everyday labels that refer to particular kinds of intellectual endeavor, e.g., reading, writing, arithmetic, music. The organization of family activities is, by contrast, expressed in terms such as getting up, getting dressed, getting the children off to school, shopping, preparing meals, watching television. This point may appear obvious, yet it presents a basic methodological problem. How can one locate, describe, and analyze those intellectual processes inherent in family activities that are most crucial for the understanding of educators? Even at the level of everyday labels of activities, the issue is complex. Reading, for example, can be found in schools because there are times on the school schedule called "reading." Even in schools, of course, the problem is not simple, since reading, for example, goes on not only in reading sessions but in social studies, music, and the informal activities of students, e.g., passing notes to each other. But in schools one can at least locate one version of the intellectual activity through the everyday label. As our research on literacy has shown (Leichter, 1982), the task is much more complex in families, where the mere location of

literacy or reading events in the stream of everyday family activity constitutes a major research undertaking.

If one shifts to a somewhat more abstract level, moving away from everyday labels, the problem of locating the intellectual activity in schools becomes more like the problem in families. If, for example, one were to search for moments when sorting, classifying, categorizing, recording, remembering take place in schools, one would face something of the same kind of problem that one faces in searching for commonly labeled school activities in homes. And if one wishes to find intellectual processes at a level of abstraction that one presumes to be general enough so that the same kind of process goes on in families and schools, e.g., classifying, sorting, recording, then one faces a substantial task of searching and specifying both in schools and families. For example, you cannot simply ask someone to let you observe them when they are classifying. In short, if the process one wishes to observe and analyze is not covered by everyday labels of activities, the search must at the very least be open and extensive.

IV. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Perspectives from a variety of areas of behavioral science provided background in formulating the present research. While, as noted above, the term cognitive often brings to mind intrapsychic processes that have been largely the domain of psychologists, there are also established literatures, particularly in sociology and anthropology, where cognition is approached from interpersonal and cultural perspectives. These literatures, taken together with perspectives on the family as educator, served as a backdrop for the present research.

Early in the research, in keeping with a grounded theory model of alternation between data gathering and analysis, we engaged in an extensive review of the literatures on cognitive processes in psychology, sociology, and anthropology. From this review we culled those perspectives that were particularly helpful in approaching our problem: finding ways to study and understand processes of intellectual interaction as they take place in the natural environment of everyday family activity.

Some of the literatures we reviewed were more pertinent than others. This is true in part because of the essential difference of perspective required in laboratory experiments and in studies of ongoing activity in natural settings. But more important, our basic problem was to find ways of observing, describing, and analyzing interpersonal relationships and the organization of family environments as these set the stage for individual approaches to education. We will not review these literatures in detail here, but rather indicate the areas from which crucial perspectives were drawn.

The question of the relation of individual characteristics to the social worlds in which individuals live has, of course, long been a fundamental issue in all behavioral science, where the history of debate

and differing perspectives is frequently intense. In approaching educative styles and agendas from the perspective of social interaction and arguing that they are not only learned in interaction with others but are sustained and modified, confirmed and disconfirmed, we are stating a basic premise that is consistent with contemporary social psychology as well as with what John Dewey once called "working adaptations of personal capacities with environing forces" (Dewey, 1922).

The literatures on socialization and child development offer background for formulating approaches to family interactions as these condition and set the stage for individual approaches to education. The socialization literature is basically concerned with the ways in which individuals acquire their characteristics from the social world in which they live. The socialization process has been approached from the perspectives of psychology, sociology, and anthropology with somewhat different aspects of the process being emphasized. While particular scholars often transcend disciplines, psychology has tended to focus on the development of individual characteristics and sometimes on the ways in which presumably universal human, biologically based, stages of development unfold and influence the individual's relation to the social world. Sociology, by contrast, has tended to concentrate on the characteristics of specific groups or institutions in which socialization occurs and on the common skills acquired by individuals in particular settings, while anthropology, sometimes using the term <u>enculturation</u> rather than <u>socialization</u>, has been concerned with transmission of the broader culture from one generation to another and the ways in which this culture is internalized by the individual.

In these literatures two somewhat distinct emphases are to be found: one on the content of the material acquired by the individual, the other on the process by which the acquisition takes place (Goslin, 1971). A further distinction is to be found between those studies that have focused on characteristics of the individual and those that have focused on characteristics of the social setting. And among those that have been concerned with how the social setting is organized to socialize individuals or to transmit culture from one generation to another, a crucial distinction is to be found in the extent to which images of the social world are undifferentiated or differentiated. Where, for example, the concern is with the acquisition of general cultural forms, particularly as these occur in comparatively homogeneous societies, culture may be conceived holistically, and the process of its acquisition seen as a "pervasive, absorptive process" which is not explained in terms of any particular learning mechanism, since the process of cultural acquisition is part of the child's exposure to the "total culture and its patterns" (LeVine, 1971:505). By contrast, those working in highly differentiated societies, may pay more attention to particular processes in particular situations, for example, occupational socialization, where the concern is with the acquisition of skills appropriate in particular roles (Moore, 1971), or socialization later in life (Brim, 1966).

Thus, from the perspective of those concerned with the way in which the social world is organized to facilitate the individual's acquisition of social values, beliefs, skills and abilities, special

questions become pertinent when the social world is highly differentiated and individuals commonly have differing and conflicting pressures upon them as they move from one situation to another. It is in situations of this sort that a crucial concern comes to be mapping the network of significant others in the individual's life and tracing and describing the situations through which the individual moves from moment-to-moment in a comparatively short period of time as well as from year to year over a lifetime (Leichter, 1979). The socialization literature leads us to, but does not address in detail the problem of the movement of the individual from one situation to another, and the ways in which the individual approaches to education are carried over, reinforced or modified in different situations.

While the socialization literature deals to a large extent with the development of emotional characteristics and interpersonal skills and abilities, a literature specifically concerned with cognitive development exists. Some of those who have approached socialization from the perspective of cognitive development have concerned themselves with "cognitive representations of the environment and the ways in which these representations change in character as the child grows" (Baldwin, 1969; Kohlberg, 1969). Thus, in cognitive socialization, too, some have approached the question essentially from the point of view of the individual. Others, however, have been concerned not only with the unfolding of the individual's mental images of the world over time, but also with the way in which these mental representations are dependent upon the structure of particular situations, referring to these structures in terms such as "the zone of proximal development." (Vygotsky, 1978). Thus, some of the cognitive developmental literature also leads up to the question of how family interactions constitute settings in which individual cognitive approaches are conditioned.

Yet another perspective, that of cultural analysis in both psychology and anthropology, offers background for considering what it means intellectually to grow up in a particular cultural, and how the system of meanings and symbols in a culture becomes part of the individual's intellectual approach to the world. In some approaches to this question, for example, ethnoscience, the mind of the individual has been inferred from cultural products such as language and the terminology used in a particular language (Greenfield and Bruner, 1971; Bruner, Olver and Greenfield, 1966). From this perspective, intelligence is viewed as the internalization of the tools provided by a particular culture. Recently, efforts have been made to combine the efforts of anthropology and experimental psychology in attempting to determine, from experimental studies, the ways in which cognitive processes vary in different cultures (Scribner and Cole, 1978; Cole, Gay and Glick, 1971). These various approaches to cognition imply a connection on the one hand between individual representations of the world and the cultural categories that are given in the language or transmitted through myths and beliefs, but they do not address in detail the question of how interactions in particular social settings such as families serve to develop and modify the individual's representation of the world.

Within sociological traditions, the perspective of symbolic interaction comes closest of any framework to offering a perspective for understanding how individuals' approaches to education are constructed in, enacted in, and conditioned by social situations. Since symbolic interaction stresses moment-to-moment interactions, it is particularly useful as a framework for approaching families. Concepts of symbolic interaction also emphasize the act of construction of the environment as compared with the passive internalization of the external world. This too is crucial for an understanding of families since it points to the importance of examining particular interactions in particular situations in terms of the approaches to the world that are reinforced or modified in these situations. The assumption from symbolic interaction that meaning is constructed and reconstructed in particular encounters and that it is therefore essential to describe and analyze a range of situations in which the individual grows and develops, and in which education takes place, is therefore another basic perspective for studies of educative styles and agendas in everyday family environments.

The basic assumptions and questions of the research, discussed above, have therefore been derived from significant traditions in the fields of psychology, sociology, and anthropology.

V. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The Rationale for Ethnographic and Grounded Theory Methods

A variety of methodological approaches might have been employed. Given the complexity of studying family environments and the complexity of studying intellectual or cognitive processes, as well as the comparative lack of prior research on educative styles and agendas, certain approaches were the methodologies of choice.

The basic procedures we employed were interviews and observations of families in their homes, carried out in the tradition of ethnographic research combined with a grounded theory approach to data gathering design and data analysis.

A variety of perspectives on what constitutes ethnography are to be found in the anthropological literature and a related set of ideas about various forms of participant observation are to be found both in the sociological and the anthropological literature. As we discovered, approaches to ethnography necessarily vary when they are conducted in urban societies of which the researcher is a member. Our basic purpose in using an ethnographic approach to data gathering was to obtain sufficient information on the context of family life in which particular interactions were set, so that we would not be imposing the researcher's categories in attempting to understand a family. When working within one's own society but with families of particular ethnic and class background, the problem of how to uncover the basic understandings of the family is in some ways more complex than in a society that is unfamiliar and exotic to the researcher; the task is more complex because those areas that are familiar to the researcher may be

unwittingly generalized with an assumption of greater similarity than in fact exists.

Thus, a basic effort was to devote sufficient time to observations and interviews with a particular family to gain an understanding of the family's round of daily activities and their underlying beliefs and assumptions. And sufficient time to produce what has been termed a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of the data.

Locating Cognitive Processes

Beyond this, our basic search was for ways of uncovering, describing and analyzing cognitive processes in everyday life that have pertinence for the individual's approaches to education both within families and in schools and other educative institutions outside the family. But as discussed above, a problem inheres in the fact that intellectual activity is part of all human action, so that almost any activity within the family might be examined in terms of the cognitive or intellectual processes. In this sense, cognitive activity is everywhere; and, unless labelled as such in everyday vocabulary, nowhere.

The initial proposal was based on the assumption that highly complex cognitive skills often exist within families experiencing poverty and severe deprivation, where special forms of daily competence inhere in handling the difficult "survival" problems that are presented by poverty. For example, coordinating activities of family members, handling time, deciding priorities with respect to purchases, and allocation of resources among family members all require organization and intellectual skills. It may be, for example, that certain "juggling" skills--skills in coordinating and orchestrating exchanges within a large kin network, skills in multiple attention, skills in retaining and retrieving information on changing conditions, skills in shifting from one activity to another to dovetail the activities of others--entail refined processes of classification, memory, and attention that could be the basis for the very kinds of "academic" skills that schools seek to teach, at least if the particular form of the family's cognitive skills were more clearly recognized.

With this assumption, a number of ordinary family activities were specified as those we would examine--activities that it was assumed most families carry out in one way or another--with the goal of determining the organization of these activities and the process of educational interaction that goes on within them. We initially specified such activities as food processing (shopping, cooking and eating), household artifact management (selecting, cleaning, arranging, storing and discarding or household artifacts), recreation (television viewing and special interest activities), and record keeping. These were, however, initial points of departure with the assumption that the specific points where observations would be particularly useful would be determined after initial contact with the families.

This is consistent with the basic approach in grounded theory data gathering and analysis, namely, an alteration between data gathering and analysis with initial observations examined and the analysis of these observations becoming the basis for further data gathering. Our task, therefore, was not to study the activities we specified as starting points for our analysis, but to move from these toward further areas of observation that would lead to specific data on educative styles and agendas. The first task was, therefore, to locate points in the family's round of activities where further observation and analysis would be particularly useful. But as discussed above, this in itself becomes complex as soon as one moves away from activities for which there are everyday labels on which both family members and observers can agree.

Focusing the Research on Units within the Family

A further methodological issue must be clarified, the difference between observations of individuals within families and observations of families as interacting units. The issue was complicated by the fact that the approach to educative styles and agendas entailed both an effort to uncover "enduring" characteristics of individuals and an effort to determine how these characteristics were developed, sustained and modified in interaction with others. Therefore, our aim was to observe and describe both individual characteristics and characteristics of family interaction. We were concerned, for example, with both an individual's approach to the handling of time, such as whether the individual preferred "single-track" or "multitrack" activities, and the ways in which activities were coordinated and scheduled within the family.

It was our assumption that families may be observed in terms of particular individuals or in terms of a variety of dyads within the family (e.g., husband-wife, mother-first child, mother-second child, father-first child, father-second child, child-child) with a great series of possibilities depending on the particular constellation of members present in a given household. It was also assumed that family activities and events may be viewed from the perspective of the family as a whole, for example, the scheduling of family meals may be examined in terms of how it is coordinated with other activities within the families; the viewing of television may be examined in terms of who is present, enter or leave the room at a particular time, or who talks to whom during a particular program. These are perspectives different from that of observing one individual attending to television, leaving the room, talking with others.

Yet whether the emphasis is on the individual, units within the family, or the family as a whole, the observer is faced with constant choices and negotiations, for example, negotiations to gain initial entry into a household and then to particular areas within the household, and choices about where to focus attention, selecting from among the multiple activities that take place in a household during almost any moment.

Thus, a central concern of the research was to find ways of observing that would make it possible on the one hand to characterize interactions while at the same time obtaining data for an analysis of the educative styles and agendas of individual members of the household.

Field Work and Data Collection Procedures

The ethnographic fieldwork for this study was primarily conducted by two ethnographers, Carmen Rodriguez and Royce M. Phillips. Carmen Rodriguez, who worked with the Hispanic families, was Puerto Rican. At the time of the study, she was a doctoral student in Family and Community Education. Her fieldwork was carried out largely in Spanish, and she translated the field notes and transcribed interviews into English. Royce Phillips, who worked with the Black families, was himself a Black American. He was an experienced teacher and researcher with a doctorate in education, and he was intimately familiar with the community in which the Black families lived.

Although both ethnographers spent considerable time gaining entry into, establishing rapport with, and interviewing the families participating in this project, the goal was not to conduct full-blown case studies. Rather, within a grounded theory framework, the intention was to move back and forth between data gathering and analysis through the design of questions, methods and techniques of soliciting information on cognitive interactions. These data would be augmented by free-ranging participant observations of the events in the household previously identified as having significant cognitive implications.

Initial interviews were conducted for the purposes of eliciting the feelings of the participants about their daily routines as they contributed to the maintenance of the household's organization. From these data, the Project Coordinator culled analytical categories from which a series of further questions were developed. These served as an impetus for organizing additional observations, the data from which permitted the creation of more refined categories. We found, throughout the project, that refining the conceptual framework as an ongoing process in connection data gathering activities, helped to focus the data gathering.

During the initial data collection phases of this study, the effort to describe the "typical" day for each household was in terms of segments of activity rather than an entire day in order to allow the most efficient use of observational time. We tried, therefore, to increase the probability that observations would be conducted when the family was engaged in activities thought to be useful in eliciting additional information on the cognitive processes.

Two types of roles were involved in the fieldwork: (a) the ethnographer was accompanied to the family's home by the project coordinator or another staff member who had had previous contacts with family, and (b) the ethnographer went to the home alone. Where the ethnographer was accompanied by someone, the project coordinator or

intermediary carried on the interview and the ethnographer acted primarily as an observer. Where the ethnographer went alone, he or she had to carry on the interview while at the same time observing.

In cases where the ethnographer observed his or her colleague in interaction with the family, observing and recording went easily. When the ethnographer was also the interviewer, certain observations were more difficult, particularly when the space was small and rooms divided, and it was sometimes difficult to keep all the participants in view. It should be realized that in some of the households, individual members (children ordinarily) were coming and going. Hence, notations had to be maintained indicating changes in the persons taking part in the social event with many changes occurring within a single event. However, with experience, the ethnographers got over the initial awkwardness of playing two roles, particularly as they learned to get the conversation going between the family members rather than having to manage full responsibility for one end of the conversation. In addition to observations at home, some events were observed at school, on the street, and in one case in a place of worship. Because the study was essentially concerned with family interactions, most observations were done in the homes.

A few comments on the efforts required to gain access and obtain data are in order. As in most ethnographic field studies in low income areas, it is often difficult to make appointments for specific times of the day and, often, for particular days. This means considerable "lost time" at the beginning, but when the study entails continuing visits, the participants can become habituated to the ethnographer's informal and reasonably frequent presence. Since we wanted to obtain observations of varying kinds of social interactions, we did not have the ethnographers schedule meetings when only one family member was present, except in attempting to recruit and/or during our initial interviews.

The Families Studied

Initially a more extensive study was visualized with a larger number of families, more data on each family, and more time for analysis. The present study represents a scaled-down version of the original plan. This report represents only a part of the study of cognitive processes in everyday family life, as we had originally visualized it. We hope that the issues raised, and the methodological understandings achieved, in this initial effort will become the basis for further research.

Four families were studied, two Black and two Hispanic, all of working class socioeconomic status and all having more than one child currently in the home. The criteria for the selection of participants were determined so that the study could concentrate its examination of cognitive processes on the identification of the various strengths low income families already possess--cognitive, educational and intellectual strategies that if better understood could be reinforced and built upon in the other social institutions in which they participate.

The families ultimately worked with were primarily selected because of their willingness to participate in the research. As was expected, we initially found some hesitation by Black and Hispanic families over whether or not they should participate with an "establishment" organization like Columbia University in yet another federally funded project studying the "poor." But through skillful mediation of one of the faculty members associated with the Elbenwood Center, Spenser Jameson, recruitment of participants was facilitated, and the fieldwork commenced.

It must be emphasized that the selection of families of particular ethnic backgrounds was for the purpose of obtaining examples that might add to the range of variations in the cognitive processes and educative styles and agendas. The purpose was emphatically not to draw conclusions about the characteristics of families of either Black or Hispanic background. Clearly, no case study of two families of a particular ethnic background can enable general conclusions about families of that background.

While one might study the family environments in which the educative styles and agendas of very young children develop, our decision to focus on families with school age children was consistent with our assumption that educative styles and agendas are not fixed characteristics that the individual either acquires, at early stages of development, or ones that unfold from innate traits, but rather approaches that are continuously subject to modification and development throughout the individual's life. Thus, educative styles and agendas as they are related to family interaction might be studied at any point in the life cycle. But because of the concern with issues of education, the study of school-age children had promise of being interesting for educators.

The background of each of the families will be further discussed in connection with the description of data on that family. It will be noted from the chart that the household composition and ages of both parents and children vary from one family to another. Moreover, although the occupations of family members may all be considered working class, the kinds of occupations and the contributors to the family income are different in each family. This variation was appropriate since our aim was to seek variability. Beyond this, it would have been impossible, given the demands of participating in our ethnographic study, to find families exactly comparable in all basic demographic characteristics. And even if such families were found, they would not necessarily be representative of others of that background.

The table of the backgrounds of each of the four families that follows (Table A) will serve to identify them. For the purposes of the report, they will be called the Lopez, the Sosas, the Halliburtons, and the Taylors. In the discussion that follows, the names have been changed and other identifying data removed in order to preserve the confidentiality of the families.

TABLE A

Backgrounds of Families Studied

	LOPEZ	SOSA	HALLIBURTON	TAYLOR
HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	Fa - 51 Mo - 50 So - 10 Da - 5 --- Mo's previous marriage Da - 26 Da - 24 Da - 16	Fa - 25 Mo - 37 So - 4 --- Mo's previous marriage So - 14 So - 13 --- Da - 16 (frequent Da - 15 visits) Boarder	[Fa - divorced - not in household] Mo - 53 So - 17 So - 15 Da - 12	Fa - 36 Mo - 35 So - 15 So - 12
PLACE	Upper West Side, N.Y.C.	East Harlem, N.Y.C.	Low income housing project, N.Y.C.	Central Harlem, N.Y.C.
APARTMENT SIZE	6-room apartment (4 bedrooms)	5-room apartment	4-room apartment (2 bedrooms)	4-room apartment (2 bedrooms)
RELIGION	Seventh Day Adventist	Catholic	Methodist	Jehovah's Witnesses

TABLE A (continued)

	LOPEZ	SOSA	HALLIBURTON	TAYLOR
OCCUPATIONS	Fa - building superintendent Mo - Nursemaid to elderly (part-time) Da - 26 - unemployed Da - 24 - dept. store saleslady (part-time)	Fa - kitchen aide (part-time) Mo - student - community coll. (part-time) hospital worker (part-time)	[Fa - civil servant] Mo - homemaker disabled (stroke)	Fa - unemployed construction worker Mo - clothing store salesclerk (part-time)
SCHOOLS ATTENDED	So - 10 - public elementary Da - 5 - public kindergarten Da - 16 - ?	So - 14 - public school for hearing impaired So - 13 - public elementary school	So - 17 - public high school So - 15 - public high school Da - 12 - public intermediate school	So - 15 - public high school So - 12 - public intermediate school
INCOME	$10,000 + free apartment + children's contributions	($90/week) $10,000 + welfare	$6,000 (disability + So part-time work) + some money from Fa	unemployment Mo $125/wk. $9,500 total
ETHNICITY	Hispanic	Hispanic	Black	Black

Stages and Types of Data Collection

We turn now to the stages of research and the kinds of data secured during each of these stages. The purpose is to show how "grounded theory" research unfolds over the life of a project. Since this was a study of cognitive processes in the naturalistic setting of the family, several special features of the family are important to consider.

First, it should be noted that the family is an institution in which rapid developmental and life-cycle changes take place. Given not only the shift in composition of the family from one moment to another, but the rapid developmental changes in children, and adults as well, the family (unlike the classroom) is an institution in which rapid changes and adaptation to changes is a constant and vital feature. Second, the structuring of family activities over time may have regularized and even ritualized features, but it is also the product of particular family interests and preferences and cannot be determined with reference to a formal, external schedule; that is, it must be determined through observation of a particular family and comparisons across families cannot assume that the same type of event takes place at the same time in different families. Third, the family is an institution made up of individuals of varying ages with different biographies and historical experiences and different perspectives on the world. Fourth, the family, like other institutions, is one in which multiple levels of experience take place simultaneously and, given the different ages and stages of development of family members, one can anticipate an array of perceptions--sometimes similar, often different and even contradictory--of each and every event in the family's life. Finally, the family is an institution in which many activities are recurrent and habitual, often taking place almost unnoticed, at the margins of awareness.

These points with respect to changes over time and multiple perspectives in family life are vital for considerations of validity and reliability in research on the family as educator. They also imply that a central issue in this research is the examination of the processes by which meaning is negotiated and renegotiated. If these assumptions are taken seriously, they also imply that process studies must indeed be studies of change over time, of the timing and sequences of activities, not merely studies of variables that are presumed to represent static structures.

Our study of cognitive processes in the interactions of everyday family life began with a series of open-ended observations of the family's round of activities, social world and household organization. On the presumption that a "thick description" of the family's everyday life will yield data useful in refining future observations, no attempt was made to guide the initial observations and conversation through a specific set of questions, interview guide or list of artifacts to be observed. Rather, the attempt was to obtain a rich inventory including the family's report of its history, the characteristics of the different family members and the organization of their activities and households. To augment these descriptions, field notes, transcripts of taped

conversations, photographs and drawings of household arrangements and a variety of documents were collected.

Initially, preliminary data analysis and the writing of research memoranda were done. Data analysis, at this point, was also done through oral reports and discussions contrasting and comparing the participating families. The field notes are extraordinarily full, containing process descriptions of the sequences of the research assistants' experiences with their families, e.g., entering and leaving the homes, the beginning and ending of meals, with descriptions such as "I arrived a few minutes before ten and rang upstairs....Jamie answered and said, 'Oh, hi!'" that give a running document of the precise moment-to-moment sequences of the ethnographers' encounters with the families. Still, despite their completeness, the notes could almost always be further embellished through discussion with the fieldworker and comparison with other families.

This kind of detailed process recording of field notes made it possible to examine the context of particular remarks and discussions. The extensive data recording also made evident that the sequencing of activities in different families is quite different and that the conditions under which an ethnographer could enter a family were variable and had to be negotiated differently in each case. For example, one of the families wanted the ethnographer to call shortly before an appointment, while two others indicated the ethnographer could drop in unannounced. The fourth, however, required that appointments be set up before any meetings could take place.

The initial phase of data gathering was necessary to avoid imposing an external notion of order on the families. It did not, however, lead to exactly comparable data on the different families. In the case of one of the Hispanic families, for instance, particularly rich data were obtained in the initial stages, including an examination, with photographs, of the organization of the kitchen and related work spaces. This came up naturally in the sense that being shown the kitchen, etc. seemed natural and unobtrusive to the observer. By contrast, in one of the Black families, while there was discussion of food and cooking and an examination of the organization of the kitchen, it did not seem possible during the initial contacts by the ethnographer with the family to secure photographs of the family's kitchen or other areas of the household.

This first stage of data gathering yielded considerable data, but no matter how accurately, or clearly, they were recorded or how vividly the descriptions were written, it was often difficult for anyone other than the researcher to process them. Therefore, the Project Coordinator conducted oral comparison sessions with the ethnographers in order to uncover comparable points in different areas of data. This proved more efficient than extensive reading, re-reading and cataloguing of data without discussion.

The issue of comparability of events in the lives of different families is extremely complex. It was our initial presumption that

we would be able to determine times for sampling the families' lives that would be most likely to lead to productive data on cognitive processes and that we would be able to select activities that could be compared across families. While this was possible, to some extent, it was in itself a complicated matter. For example, we presumed, partly on theoretical grounds and partly on the basis of early observations, that the organization of cooking and meals would be an important and roughly comparable daily activity. We felt that observations of these activities in each household would enable us to uncover processes of intellectual interaction that could be compared. However, the structure of meal preparation and eating in the families turned out to be extremely varied. For example, in one of the Hispanic families, only one formal meal, dinner, was prepared each day and it was prepared well in advance and served "on time." Other meals in the same household were organized on an individual basis or varied from time-to-time (e.g., breakfast cereal was served when there was enough money to buy it; otherwise, there was no breakfast). In one of the Black families, there appeared to be a good deal more round-the-clock food preparation, serving and eating, in addition to the regular meals, with these activities including both the family members and other guests (such as the ethnographer) in afternoon teas, passing around potato chips and dip. These differences in themselves suggested important differences in the families' organization.

Most important methodologically, this meant comparisons must be drawn in ways that maximize comparison of similar events based on preliminary analysis of the ethnographic data rather than assuming comparability in terms of some externally presumed event, e.g., observing dinner at dinner time. It, therefore, took a great deal of groundwork during the initial stages of the project to discover even such presumably obvious points as times of most interactions among family members, and times of individual activities.

Given the assumption that we were studying processes of naturally occurring family events and that these events took place in an institution that is undergoing continuous changes, the issue of how we could observe changes became particularly critical. Here again a discussion of methods cannot readily be abstracted from a discussion of concepts, but it may nonetheless be used to point to several different orders of data on changes over time and the sequencing of events.

One order of sequential data is the sequencing within conversations. The tape recordings of conversations provide data for close analyses of such sequencing, including such issues as topic change, and change of speaker. Here, following the model of some linguistic analysis, small segments of data can be used for intensive analysis.

Another order of sequential data consists of the step-by-step entry of the ethnographer into the family and the stages whereby more or less private or confidential material is revealed. In one of the Hispanic families, for example, the ethnographer was allowed, at an early stage, to take photographs of some areas of the household but not others because they were regarded as "messy." Thus, she was permitted to

photograph various areas of the kitchen including the area in which the keeping of notes and schedules and lists was done, but was denied permission to photograph the top of the refrigerator or the inside of the refrigerator because this was accessible, even for inspection, only to family and close friends ("confianza"). Only much later in the research was the ethnographer given pretty much carte blanche access to all areas of this household.

Still another order of sequential data consists of concepts of sequence and change from one stage of life to another on the part of family members. These data were collected as family members told and retold their own as well as their family's biographies. Running through the biographical descriptions of one of the Black families, for example, were discussion of the events that brought about changes in the mother's life. In one of the audiotapes, she discusses her parents' decision to move north and the difficult time they had during this migration. In another phase of the research, it became known that the mother was an infant at the time of this move and had been told the stories of the venture so often, while growing up, that they had become internalized. Finally, in another phase, the researcher became aware of the way stories of these days were told in most dramatic fashion at extended family gatherings which brought the participating family into periodic contact with older siblings, aunts, cousins and other relatives. At these affairs, the participating family's children saw their maternal grandmother tell her familial audience with stories of the "great move" and "how we had to change some of our ways up here."

Still another order of sequential data consists of comparisons of individuals at different moments in life. When the research assistants had opportunities to view the families' photograph albums, for example, there were frequent references to the comparisons of the ways certain individuals looked in the past with how they looked today, including the shift from skinny to fat and anticipation of how a person might look with further change--"If she becomes skinny, she's going to look taller--look how tall she looks there." On at least one occasion, the subjects of these comparisons talked with the ethnographer later in the research and made reference to past appearances and how much she had changed. Thus, data which surface in the initial stages of research may come up again and be examined later in more depth.

Initial observations, when examined and analyzed, also become the basis for more focused further observation. For example, in the earlier stages of the research, the ethnographers found some interesting information about the families' patterns of watching television. At the outset of the project, considerable differences were noted between what people reported they did in television viewing and what they were observed to be doing. This observation, then became a focus for further interviewing and observation and "thick" description.

It became clearer over the various stages of the research, particularly during the oral discussions of the material between the Project Coordinator and the ethnographers that the issue of differing perceptions of events within a family required further consideration. Here we

obtained some interesting clues at the initial stages of the research that could be methodologically exploited. When we early came upon evidence of points at which family members disagreed on what happened in a particular event, e.g., what someone looked like, either through overt disagreement or through minor correction and embellishment, we focused further observations to uncover the participants' concepts of the rules of evidence or validity, thereby enlarging the researchers' concepts of validity to include multiple perspectives of different family members.

In one of the Black families, for instance, an interesting discussion took place of who had taken a particular photograph in the family album. Like many discussion, it was fleeting. There was definite disagreement between two of the family members, one saying, "It was me who took the picture," the other saying, "You did not take it," the first answering, "I did take the picture," and the second arguing, "But it wasn't O.K. D. put his leg in front of his face and you could not get him."

This is an instance of an argument that appears not to have been settled as the conversation drifted off to another topic. Yet, it was revealing in that it demonstrated a line of argument used by one individual to claim that his point of view was correct. This alerted us to the importance of examining the structures of arguments in a variety of different events in which family members disagreed and the structure of evidence in these arguments.

This emphasizes again the special features of studying interaction in natural settings. In such settings, one cannot bring about such arguments at will. Nor does one necessarily get complete logical sequences from the beginnings of arguments to agreements at the end. But one gets examples of data that much more closely approximate the logic of the fleeting processes of extablishing evidence in "naturally" occurring family life.

This particular issue of the importance of small scale arguments and their logical structure was not anticipated. But the discussion and writing of analytical memoranda on the basis of thick description and initial data gathering pointed us to look for similar events as they occurred in our interviews and discussions with the participating families.

In short, the question of how to obtain data of which participants are unaware became transformed by adding the question that emerged during the various stages of analysis, namely, how to obtain data about which the ethnographer is unaware, and then how to analyze and pinpoint the subsequent data of this order. While some of the special features of the family complicate the researchers' life, these are the essence of what we should be attempting to enlighten.

VI. EDUCATIVE STYLES AND AGENDAS AND COGNITIVE PROCESSES IN THE ACTIVITIES OF FOUR FAMILIES

This section presents illustrations of how educative styles and agendas and cognitive processes became manifest during the family interactions that were observed in the four families.

Each of the families is discussed separately, utilizing examples from the data which best describe the relation of such cognitive processes as classification, labelling, searching for and processing information to the educative styles and agendas of family members as they became evident in three areas of activity: (1) Household Management--shopping, preparing and eating meals; selecting, cleaning, arranging, storing and discarding household artifacts; (2) Entertainment, Recreation and Special Interest Activities--television viewing, religion and other special interest activities; and (3) Family Record Keeping--retrieving, retaining and processing of family records such as photographs, letters, diaries, souvenirs, and recipes.

The Lopez Family

Family Background. The Lopez household consists of seven individuals:

Don Celso, 51, Father
Asuncion, 50, Mother
Jamie, 10, Son
Elaine, 5, Daughter
Anna, 26, Daughter by Mother's First Marriage
Nilda, 24, Daughter by Mother's First Marriage
Valeria, 16, Daughter by Mother's First Marriage

The family lives in a four-bedroom basement apartment on Manhattan's Upper West Side. The youngest children, Elaine and Jamie, share one bedroom, while Anna and Nilda share another bedroom. Valeria has her own room, and the parents have their own room.

Mr. Lopez works as a building superintendent. Mrs. Lopez works by taking care of elderly ladies as a nursemaid in the neighborhood. Anna is unemployed and is receiving unemployment benefits. Nilda works as a saleslady in a local department store, while Valeria goes to a New York City public high school. The son, Jamie, attends a public elementary school, and the youngest daughter, Elaine, attends kindergarten in a nearby community public school.

Household Management. Although Mr. Lopez connects the adults of this family with outside institutions, an area in which Mrs. Lopez is limited by her lack of fluency in English, it became clear during the early stages of our observations that it is Mrs. Lopez who determines the tempo and task assignments for the organization and management within the household. In addition, while Mr. Lopez assumes the responsibility for paying the family's bills, it appears that Mrs. Lopez

maintains a fairly tight rein over the costs of the various items purchased in the house.

When the ethnographer asked about the family shopping, Mrs. Lopez replied, "I...well, Lopez used to do it, it has been lately that I am in charge of it....I like it...and I save money, also. He buys the first thing he sees...(laughs)."

Regarding her pride in economizing,

> Today I went to the Chinese on 125th. Look, the corn was $2.09 at E. & B. [a local supermarket]. There in the Chinese it cost me $1.99....I bought these crackers [a can of Keebler crackers]....They are nice...it cost me $3.00. At E. & B. it was $3.25. Don't tell me you don't save. I calculate that today I have saved almost a dollar...a dollar today...a dollar tomorrow....Don't you think it's worthwhile to go there? I do...."

While there are two other females in the house, Anna (26) and Nilda (24), the only other members observed to do any food preparation were the Lopezes' son, Jamie (10) and his sister Valeria (16). It was observed that Valeria periodically helped out in the kitchen. For example, on one occasion, she just came in from school, took some steaks out of the refrigerator and started cutting them while her mother silently continued to prepare dinner. It was assumed by the observer that this was a rather routine activity that had been preceded by much training on the part of their mother. Jamie seemed to specialize in making pancakes, as he prepared them several times during the period we studied the Lopezes. He indicated that he had been taught how to do them by his mother and apparently was pleased and confident with his culinary skills. He even wore an apron for their preparation. Since Mr. and Mrs. Lopez were either home while Jamie made the pancakes or would come home while he was in the middle of their preparation, and at no time indicated any behavior that would suggest this was something exceptional, it was interpreted as being a routine occurrence.

Otherwise, there was ample evidence that Mrs. Lopez does the selection of foods, the shopping, and the cooking. The two older girls may purchase personal items on their own (at times they were assisted financially even with these personal purchases by their parents. It appeared that the children, indeed, the whole family, ate what Mrs. Lopez purchased.

While Anna and Nilda were responsible for their own room, again it was Mrs. Lopez who was principally responsible for cleaning the rest of the house. Sometimes, as with food preparation, Valeria would help, but by and large Mrs. Lopez did the housework, including the laundry.

Mr. Lopez had hardly anything he had to do in the house. While he was afforded certain kinds of respect, periodically, for being the main wage-earner, such as having his meal served to him first--before anyone else sat down to eat--it was clear from the outset that, although he

sometimes acted as if he were the main decision-maker about activities in the home, he, too, had to get his wife's approval.

When the ethnographer first came to the house, there was this exchange:

Ethnographer: Will it be alright, then, for me to come and observe your family?

Mr. Lopez: In principle, it's okay, but I will have to talk to my wife. She works outside of the house and she'll decide the schedule for your visits.

This impression was later reinforced by things Mrs. Lopez would say which were quite revealing about the way she maintained her decision-making status vis-a-vis her husband. On the way to the church, for example, the ethnographer commented on how nice the Lopez car looked. Mrs. Lopez reacted to the fact that her husband had plans to sell it.

Mrs. Lopez: I'm not going to allow him to do that nonsense.... This car is a very good one...it hasn't given us any trouble.

Mrs. Lopez was quite concerned about Jamie's difficulties in reading. Mr. Lopez was also concerned; they had talked it over and seemed to be in agreement on their decision to send Jamie to a private boarding school in the Dominican Republic.

Mr. Lopez: It's a private school...they demand a lot from their students...it will cost us $2,000 for the whole year... Asuncion's friend has a child there and he's doing a very good job....

Since Mrs. Lopez felt encouraged by the improvement of her friend's son, and, since her parents were returning to their homeland, she decided it was an opportune time to send Jamie as he could stay with his grandparents on his free days. It appeared that the Lopezes' main concern was that Jamie be helped. Since Mrs. Lopez, due to her limited English, could not help Jamie and since his father did not have the disposition,

Mr. Lopez: I don't have too much time to help him...he plays a lot....I don't have the patience either.

Mrs. Lopez decided on the boarding school.

Entertainment and Religious Activities. Living on a low budget precludes many recreational choices. The viewing of television permeated the Lopez home without too much emphasis on its educational possibilities. The ethnographer noticed a beeline to the TV set each time someone came home. Mr. Lopez liked to settle down for his soap operas. Elaine (5) usually liked to watch cartoons after school, while sitting on her father's lap, and Jamie (10) watched televison so often that many

remarks were made usually blaming the TV for his bad eyesight, his poor grades in reading. Nilda and Anna had their own set in their room and watched it so much that they often went to bed quite late, resulting in difficulty getting up in the morning. Only Valeria and Mrs. Lopez seemed comparatively indifferent to watching TV.

The shows were all watched on Channel 47, the Spanish station on cable television. The records or radio stations played were in Spanish as well, and usually served as background to conversational activities that were taking place. But the radio and phonograph were not played as often as the television. On many days the television was on from the first thing in the morning until the last person went to sleep. Other recreational activities observed during the period of this study included, for the children, going to the Teachers College swimming pool, roller skating and bicycle riding. Anna's recreational time was spent going to beaches, discos or just hanging out with her friends. And, while the apartment had an abundance of inhabitants, Elaine was permitted to have a pet rabbit that she played with in the hall.

Although there was a diversity of choices of recreational activities, the Lopezes did not pursue any of them as a group. The older girls were more independent and naturally had more opportunities to branch out on their own. But even the two youngest children would go their own ways, Jamie out to play and Elaine to the television set. Mr. Lopez did not appear to be interested in too many leisure time activities aside from Spanish soap operas. However, Mrs. Lopez did admit to one form of "letting loose" that her husband had about which she was not terribly pleased.

> Mrs. Lopez: Lopez is a good husband, except that he drinks some, not everyday, but during the weekends. I always ask him to allow a day for all of us....On Sundays... but God only knows how I pray for Him to give him the strength to drop out that vice. I do not lose my hope and faith.

Mrs. Lopez herself seemed to enjoy taping the church services she attended and playing them back for the children to listen to. This was her primary form of recreation and entertainment. She certainly did not watch TV during the study. At one point she commented,

> Mrs. Lopez: At night while they are watching TV, I read.... I don't care about TV.

The Lopezes are Seventh Day Adventists. If there was any single activity that the family was observed participating in as a group, it was going to church. That is, it involved everyone except Mr. Lopez. His role in this activity was primarily as chauffeur.

> Mrs. Lopez: He does not come to church...well...he has come several times....I wish I could convince him that coming to church is more important than having food...he is a good man but...he is not religious

...but you never have what you dream about....I wish he would come....

At the church all the participants were Hispanic and the service was conducted in Spanish. In church, the younger children, Jamie, Ivette (Mr. Lopez's grandaughter), and Elaine did not come with Carmen, the ethnographer, Mrs. Lopez and Anna. The church had a special group for children. Mr. Lopez had given the family donation money before leaving the church to go and clean his car.

Mr. Lopez: Okay...I am going to clean the car....I'll come back at 12:30 p.m....Here, have these $3 for you and give Jamie $.50 and $.25 to each of the girls. [Anna presumably took care of her own donation.]

Part of the service dealt with what was called Talent's Offerings. This consisted of reports of how the members of the church were able to use their skills to convert the $1 each were given by the Church into greater sums. The man leading the discussion asked for reports, and one of the ladies in the audience reported:

Lady: I used my dollar and bought a Sara Lee cake mix. I sold the cake for $2.50. Then with those $2.50 I did two lemon pies and sold each for $2.50... with these $5.00 I did a big lasagna and won $12.00 and....

During parts of the ceremony, Mrs. Lopez had her hands on a lesson book. There were questions printed on the page with spaces allotted for answers. Mrs. Lopez had answered some of the questions in handwriting and indicated to the ethnographer that it was for the Sabbath School she attended after the religious ceremony.

At the Sabbath School session which followed, Mrs. Lopez and the other members, about 18 females and 8 males (all adults) joined about 20 youngsters who were seated at the table in the middle of the room and who apparently had been there since morning. The teacher, a middle-aged woman from the Dominican Republic, distributed some Bibles to those who did not bring one. Everyone was instructed to say a prayer aloud asking for God's help in the day's work. After drawing some figures on the blackboard, the teacher explained that they "suggested the relationship between God and Man, the harmony which existed between God and men, when men were the reflections of God's character," and the separation that was created when man disobeyed God's mandates. She told the students to think about the function of the church, its objectives and the reading of the Bible as the most important activity of a religious person.

The session alternated between a lecture by the teacher and a series of questions and answers. After the Sabbath School, the participants returned to the main hall for messages from the pastor. He announced that a special TV program was scheduled at 9 A.M. on the following Sunday and encouraged everyone to watch it. He also reminded the congregation about the Work Committees and let participants know

that not too many people had signed up for these committees. After reading the list of those who had already signed up (Mrs. Lopez was announced as having signed up for Maintenance Committee), the Pastor led the congregation in prayer and in the singing of hymns.

While the Pastor delivered the Sermon, the ethnographer saw almost 10 people writing. It appeared that they were writing down the references the Pastor made to quotations or passages in the Bible. Mrs. Lopez had also written down some references on the back of the program.

The Pastor extolled the participants about the how, where and when of Bible reading. He told them that they should read and reread the same chapter two or three times a day for a month. He said that by doing this readers would get used to the word of God and might develop from that initial reading a real spiritual thirst and hunger to explore other chapters.

Regarding where the reading should take place, the Pastor said:

> Pastor: Not every place is comfortable to read the Bible...there is not one place only, but there should be one, no matter where, but one where reading will allow for meditation. Good light is necessary, some comfort is necessary, also.

Commenting about the time, he said that it should not be rushed, but rather we should have a special pause in our day to read it calmly, consciously, as if studying it.

> Pastor: The Bible must be read everyday, preferably during the morning. You eat everyday, you sleep everyday, and you have developed a lot of habits that you execute everyday...the reading of the Bible should be a daily task, also.

At the end of the service, he asked the congregation to commit themselves in prayer to read the Bible everyday. All the group including the children lowered their heads, closed their eyes and engaged in silent prayer. They then rose to sing a hymn from a book. Mrs. Lopez tried, but could not follow it completely.

After the services, the Pastor shook hands with all the participants as they departed. The ethnographer and the Lopezes returned to their apartment. While in the car, Mrs. Lopez gave the ethnographer a piece of some kind of bread pudding her mother had made for her. Mr. Lopez had a slice also, but when the children asked for some, he protested, reminding everyone he had just cleaned the car. In the end, Mrs. Lopez gave the children a piece each.

Family Record Keeping. In the Lopez family, oral history appears to be the dominant mode of maintaining a sense of historical depth. In several instances, Mrs. Lopez recounted to her family her mother's struggles.

Mrs. Lopez: You know, I admire my mother. She had 20 children, you know. Only 13 of us are alive, but she had some abortions, too. We were 3 females and 17 males. I am from..., a rural town of..., and when we were born there was not any doctor in the area, just midwives. A lot of children died, for they, the midwives, did not know anything about medicine. Women were treated as animals. My mother was lucky....A lot of women died at that time. My mother had a nice midwife. She cared for my mother in all her deliveries.

These recollections, by themselves, might appear only as bits of nostalgia about life in the old country. But they also infer a certain high regard for professionalism that Mrs. Lopez can do something about with her own family. For instance, there was no reluctance on her part to involve her son, who was experiencing reading difficulties, with specialists in this area. She not only showed her family the value of utilizing professionals where necessary, but also the need to be discriminating about their results. Even though both Mr. and Mrs. Lopez sought out a reading specialist for their son, not seeing much improvement caused them to formulate new plans borne out of past experiences.

Mrs. Lopez: I am planning to send him to Dominican Republic. I don't see any progress in his reading. I have spent a lot of money and he is now 10 and still in the second grade and not doing well either.

In fact, during this study, almost all the references made to Mrs. Lopez's homeland were in one way or another associated with the need to do something about Jamie's reading problems. It finally culminated with the following decision:

Mrs. Lopez: Poor Dr. Hall [a specialist at the Reading Center]. We have to tell him that Jamie is not going to the Summer Camp....We are going to the Dominican Republic next July....We're taking Jamie to a private boarding school there.

Mr. Lopez: It is our last alternative....You know he has been going to that center, but he is not improving.... He is not doing well in school yet...and his friends round here do not help him either. He is going to learn there. They are not soft...they demand a lot from the students.

Mrs. Lopez: I am sure he will improve his reading there.... They are very good...it is a very prestigious school, you know....I am sending Jamie now because my parents are going back for good too....He can stay with them in his free days...they can take care of him....

A more direct correspondence between oral histories of educative styles and their present manifestation in the Lopez household can be gleaned from the following:

Mr. Lopez: ...I learned while I was helping my father....I learned [carpentry] from him by watching...at the things he was doing and by helping him....Well, he was not able to hold the hammer, so he used to tell me, "Have that kind of nail," and, "Hammer here," and so forth...by doing and staring I finally learned and his instructions became less and less necessary in the long run....I cannot easily be precise when it happened, but I learned that way....I was never notified that a house came down into pieces [laughs]. See? I did good jobs.... I learned masonry the same way...by watching people. It was easier than carpentry. It was hard here because I did not speak English.... But when I came to ...[to be]...a super in 1962, I had no alternative...most of the tenants are Americanos....I learned it [English] in the street....There is where you learn it fast... talking to the people as well as listening to them.

Some months later, the observer, upon arriving at the Lopez home, came across Jamie making pancakes and had this conversation.

Ethnographer: How do you make them, Jamie?

Jamie: I always use this bowl, put the flour in, add an egg, milk and beat it....That's all, it's very easy.

Ethnographer: But wait, wait, how much flour, how much milk?

Jamie: Don't know, just put some....I just really know how much...and the milk...you pour some until it looks this way...see [moving the mix with a spoon].

Ethnographer: Who did teach you?

Jamie: Nobody...well, I learned it from my mother.

Ethnographer: How? Do you use a recipe at the beginning, or what?

Jamie: No, just by watching her...when she used to do them....I just watched her...now I'm the one who does them...and I think mine taste better [laughs].

The emphasis on learning by watching and doing appeared to be a distinct educative preference. This is seen in the description by Mrs. Lopez of her early days in New York City:

Mrs. Lopez: When I first came here, I did not have my documents and I worked with a family, a Jewish family, taking care of an old lady and doing all the housekeeping. At that time I was too young and too ignorant. They paid me $40 for six days' work and I can assure you it was not easy. The lady was like a baby...it took me a lot of effort to take care of her.

Ethnographer: Did they pay you $40 weekly?

Mrs. Lopez: Weekly? On, no, monthly. I was almost their slave.

Ethnographer: You said they were Jewish. Did they know Spanish? How did you communicate with them?

Mrs. Lopez: The couple knew something of Spanish. But there was no need to speak. My English was almost zero, but I did my job right so they were pleased. If you do what you have to do, you don't need to talk at all.

Mr. Lopez commented on his wife's proficiency at various tasks despite her language difficulty.

Ethnographer: How about Asuncion? Does she speak English?

Mr. Lopez: Asuncion does not speak English very well. She almost does not speak it, although she understands it more or less...she does not know how to write English....When she has to take the children to the hospital or when she needs to go herself, I go with her. I explain what is necessary and I leave her there. I come back to my job and when she finishes, I go back and pick her up.

Ethnographer: What about prescriptions!

Mr. Lopez: She has no problems because she buys the drugs in the same hospital and she presents the prescription and that's it.

Ethnographer: How does she know how the drug should be administered?

Mr. Lopez: I read what they write on the tag and explain it to her....She is very fast and memorizes it....Her mother was the same way.

On another occasion, the ethnographer was explaining to the Lopezes how she had arranged for them to use the Columbia University pool. When she told them the schedule, neither Mr. nor Mrs. Lopez wrote it down or attempted to write it.

Mrs. Lopez: Lopez, listen carefully....I wish Valeria will be here, for she gets that easily. She is not going to forget it...

Once, her son showed surprise at his mother's memory lapse.

Mrs. Lopez: Now we have to organize ourselves. First of all is your homework...moreover, I have to take out your summer clothes. As a matter of fact, don't you have your reading class today?

Jamie: Mom, it is Monday, Tuesdays and Thursdays...today is Wednesday, don't you remember?

Listening and memorizing, then, are important cognitive skills in the Lopez household, skills which are constantly reinforced by references to the way Mr. and Mrs. Lopez handled learning situations in the past and by the way data are handled in the present. Even Jamie, who has serious reading and writing difficulties, manages to cope in school with these techniques.

Ethnographer: Jamie, how do you manage to have good grades, what with your having difficulties with reading?

Jamie: Well...because when my teachers just ask me the questions, I listen and answer them. I do not have to read or write for the tests.

Ethnographer: Yes, but how do you learn what they test you about?

Jamie: Well...I just know...I remember.

About the only reading that was observed in the Lopez household centered around religion. Again, Mrs. Lopez stressed listening and memorizing as a key to learning.

Ethnographer: Do you read at home?

Mrs. Lopez: No, well, the only thing is that she, Valeria, every single night reads to Elaine when she goes to bed... she reads those religious books for children. That's done everyday. If she can't do it, I do it. But most of the times she does....I used to sit here, where I am now, early in the morning and I read the Bible aloud.

Ethnographer: Does your church expect you to do it that way?

Mrs. Lopez: No, but if they don't read it, at least by listening to me they can learn from my reading. I don't know if that's true, but I think that they can learn from listening to me. Don't you think so...?

Of course, emphasizing listening and memorizing skills in everyday household activities may cause some difficulties when situations calling for reading comprehension arise. For example, one day Mr. Lopez urgently asked the ethnographer to help his daughter with some papers she received in the mail. The ethnographer asked Anna about the papers. Anna told her that they might be the papers related to the student loan she applied for. Anna kept them in a kitchen cabinet drawer used for school-related information. She took them out and showed them to the ethnographer.

Ethnographer: Oh, these papers are from the BEOG [student loan information]. What do they tell you?

Anna: I don't know, that's why I want you to help me. I don't know what I have to do with them.

Ethnographer: Haven't you read them?

Anna: No!

The ethnographer then read the left upper side of the form where it clearly identified the BEOG program. The text said that Anna was more or less eligible for the aid and that she had to take those papers to the financial aid office in her college as soon as possible. The ethnographer read it aloud in English and explained it to her in Spanish. Anna then indicated that she understood and that she would be going to her college the coming Monday.

Another example of dissonance with the kind of expertise encouraged in an institution came up when Anna talked to the ethnographer about getting a car.

Anna: I took the English course here at T.C., but the course was too simple and basic. I know how to speak English. My problem is reading it and writing it....I don't know how to write well....

Ethnographer: What about reading?

Anna: I can read, but I am not fast...and I get bored because there are a lot of words that I don't understand...and I hate the dictionary.

Ethnographer: Are you wishing to have your own apartment?

Anna: No, right now I want to buy a car and go back to college...not to a hard program but to something

I can finish within two years...but I was a very good student in the Dominican Republic....I used to have very good grades. I don't know what has happened to me....I've lost my interest in everything...whatever I want is so difficult to have it....

Ethnographer: You want a car, but you don't have any income to but it, do you?

Anna: Yes, I have $5000 in a savings account, well, not me, my mother, she keeps the savings book and does not allow me to touch it...which I am happy about... for I would have spent every single penny otherwise.

Ethnographer: Why don't you buy the car then?

Anna: The problem is with the --- license....I took the exam once, but I did not pass....I talked to a friend and she is going to take it for me...it will cost me $25.

Ethnographer: But you have to take the exam for the driving license anyway, so why don't you take it again... how many points did you miss?

Anna: I don't quite remember, but failed 5 or 6 points only.

Ethnographer: Isn't there a booklet to study?

Anna: ...I read it but the questions I failed were those related to the winter time....I don't know what in hell they have to do with your driving....I know how to drive. You know, I was admitted to the x-ray technician course, but I'm not sure if I want to get into it...it's hard and I don't want to work hard.... I don't like to read and I don't see anyone reading at home either...that does not help, you know.

The Sosa Family

Family Background. The Sosa household consists of five individuals:

Damaso, Sr., 28, Father
Rebecca, 37, Mother
Damaso, Jr., 4, Son
Juan, 14, Son by Mother's First Marriage
Golo, 13, Son by Mother's First Marriage

Rebecca and Damaso Sosa, Sr. were married in 1978. They have one child, Damaso, Jr. Two other boys from Rebecca's previous marriage, Juan and Golo, also live with the Sosas. In addition, Rebecca has two daughters who often visit her, Elena, 16, and Norelia, age 15, but both live with their father.

Mr. Sosa was born in Puerto Rico and came to New York in 1972. He is currently employed as a part-time kitchen aide for the Board of Education and earns $90 a week. Mrs. Sosa, who attended a community college and is now going to Hunter College on a part-time basis, presently works part-time at the Joint Diseases Hospital. While she does some volunteer work at a senior citizens center for which she receives no salary, she does receive welfare benefits. Between the two elder Sosas, their income is approximatley $10,000.

The oldest son, Juan, was born in Puerto Rico, where he attended school until he was six. He had problems in school because no one realized that he had a hearing difficulty. He was tested in the United States and found to have a hearing difficulty. Presently, he attends a special public school for children with hearing impairments.

Golo, the second son, was also born in Puerto Rico, where he attended school until he was seven years old. He is presently enrolled in a public elementary school. His mother intends to send him to Art and Design High School because she feels he shows talent in art.

The youngest son, Damaso, Jr., is not yet in school.

Household Management. By contrast with Mrs. Lopez who organized her family by either subtle strategies or by performing the household tasks herself, Mrs. Sosa made it clear by proclamation as well as behavior that she was the central figure in the family's organization. Her husband, although congenial to the interviewer, seemed to prefer to have his wife speak for him as well as direct his activities. It became a problem for the ethnographer to speak with Mr. Sosa when his wife was present, as she rarely gave him a chance to complete a sentence. Yet, when she cut him off, he seemed not to be bothered by it.

The most obvious examples of her preeminence in decision making were found in the area of household management and food processing. Since Mrs. Sosa had a part-time job and was a part-time college student as well as volunteering some of her time working with senior citizens, she did not have a great deal of time that she could call her own. Therefore, she felt it necessary to assign chores not only to her husband, but also to her two older boys, Juan and Golo.

Mrs. Sosa did most of the decorating and decided where things would be stored or displayed. She also did most of whatever cooking was done in the house, though only one meal a day, dinner, was really eaten by the Sosa family in their apartment. The two older boys usually skipped breakfast, and Mr. Sosa rarely had more than coffee with his wife. So the only breakfast that was prepared was for Damaso, Jr.

Part of Mrs. Sosa's kitchen resembles an office bulletin board in that all the family's appointments, bills, class schedule notices, etc. were hung conspicuously on the wall to the right of the kitchen entrance. It should be noted that most of her kitchen, from the storage of pots and pans and utensils to the arrangment of food in her refrigerator, was neatly organized. (The etnhographer was permitted to view the whole house except for those areas that were considered by Mrs. Sosa to be messy.) Regarding her menu selections, Mrs. Sosa indicated,

Ethnographer: How many hours in the day do you spend cooking and/or in the kitchen?

Mrs. Sosa: Not too many. We do not have breakfast. The only one that has some breakfast is Damaso, Jr. I use to fry him an egg and give him some milk before he goes to school. Most of the time, if not always, he has breakfast in the program (Headstart). The other two children seldom have breakfast. They have some milk or some corn flakes, whenever I can afford it, but they help themselves. I never have to do breakfast for them. Damaso, Sr. and I only have a cup of coffee, if I am not late. Most of the times I have it in school also.

Ethnographer: None of you is home at lunch time?

Mrs. Sosa: No. I never prepare lunch even during weekends. They have whatever they can find in the refrigerator, but I never cook lunch for them. The only meal is dinner and that's why I always try to have it ready early. When they go to bed, they usually have another glass of milk.

Regarding her menu selections, Mrs. Sosa indicated,

Mrs. Sosa: I used to vary the meals everyday. Most of the time I cook rice and beans, sometimes pork, fish, codfish and soup. I always try to have some kind of meat.... They eat whatever I cook. I have no eating problems with my family" [all seemed, to the observer, to be overweight].

The dinner table was never set. Instead, the family members helped themselves to what utensils they needed and served themselves. The number of people sitting at the dining table varied. On one occasion, Mr. Sosa had his dinner seated in "his" chair in the living room. Damaso, Jr. joined him and ate on the floor while both watched television. The two older boys came home, did not greet anyone, went to their rooms and stayed there. When they reappeared, they were washed and in their pajamas. They served themselves and went back to their room.

It was on this same occasion that the ethnographer got a glimpse of the way Mrs. Sosa deals with her children about their schoolwork. The ethnographer asked Golo, before he went to his room, about his social sciences courses. At this point he remembered that he had been given his report card and brought it to his mother. Juan also waited around to hear what was going to be said:

Mrs. Sosa: You are doing a poor work...look, the only 85 is in Industrial Arts....You are doing well, if you want to be a shoemaker....Keep that way and I will have a shoemaker in the house.

Golo: Here it says 65. I don't know what that means.

Mrs. Sosa: [in a loud voice] It means that I have to go to your school to talk to your teacher....I told you, if you don't study that's your problem. I have no time to do the homework with you. I am sorry, but I cannot do anything more. Look at his reading grade. Look at 5.8, do you know what it means?

Golo: No, I don't.

Mrs. Sosa: I means that you are reading at almost a 6th grade level and you are in the 7th grade. Do you understand now? [again in a very loud voice] In math is almost the same. You see?

Golo: I know I have to improve my English, Social Studies, and Science....

Mrs. Sosa: [waving him off] At least your promotion is not in doubt as in the previous report....Go away....I don't want to talk to you.

Golo returned silently to his bedroom, leaving his report card in the ethnographer's hands.

It was later observed that the Sosa children know that, while their mother is studying between 8:30 and 11:00 p.m., they can ask for help on their homework. But while she was quite fixed about the amount of time she permitted herself to give to the children for their studies, she did have some misgivings about this. When the ethnographer asked if she noticed any differences between Juan and Golo, particularly with respect to their reading and writing skills, she responded,

Mrs. Sosa: I gave them the same amount of time...that was almost zero....I was not aware that...I did not read to them nor with them....I was an idiot.

On another occasion, the observer was able to see the management of laundry. Mrs. Sosa did all the sorting and washing in a used machine that she and Damaso bought to make the process more convenient and

cheaper. When Juan came home, and after asking for and receiving his mother's blessings,

Mrs. Sosa: Dios te gendiga, mijo [God bless you, my son].

She told her son that he had to clean the bathroom.

Mrs. Sosa: Get ready....I want it clean before I take my shower....Okay?

Juan: Okay, but I did it last time....

Mrs. Sosa: You know how to do it....Golo is going to press today...he does that better than cleaning the bathroom.

Juan: Okay, it's easier to clean the bathroom and it takes a short time to do it....I will clean it now...while I take a shower, too.

Mrs. Sosa: Don't say that in front of Golo because I'll put you to press some clothes after doing the bathroom ...be careful.

Golo came in, asked for blessings, said hello, and went to the kitchen to drink some milk.

Mrs. Sosa: Finish that, change your clothes and set the iron and the pressing table...you have to press a lot of clothes today.

Golo: Oh, no! Not today....Why don't you ask Juan?

Mrs. Sosa: Juan is going, rather <u>is</u> already cleaning the bathroom, and you have to.

Golo: Well, I don't like to clean the bathroom...but... is there too many clothes to press?

Mrs. Sosa: Of course, and I am not going to press it for you....I am too busy to do that....

Mrs. Sosa followed Golo to his room and came back carrying a full plastic bag. She took all the clothes out of the bag and classified them on the sofa: shirts, pants, underwear. Turning to the observer, she exclaimed:

Mrs. Sosa: See why I cannot do it...see why they have to help me...all these clothes are theirs....None is mine--I take care of mine. I don't like them to do my own clothes.

Ethnographer: Do you consider it too much work for them?

Mrs. Sosa: No, it is not that...you know...I just don't like to see them pressing a female dress...don't know, they must learn to take care of their things. They must learn how to help their wives upon their marriage... but not my clothes...well, if I was sick, it would be alright, but not now....The girls help with mine....

Mrs. Sosa finished organizing the pieces in bunches. Golo came out from his room wearing a yellow T-shirt and white shorts, but barefooted:

Golo: Where is the iron?

Mrs. Sosa: In my room. I used it this morning.

Golo looked for the iron, set up the pressing table in the middle of the living room facing the dining room table where his mother and the observer were seated. Mrs. Sosa put some water through a hole in the iron for steam, and he started ironing the shirts, but was interrupted when his mother shouted at him:

Mrs. Sosa: Start with Damaso, Sr.'s three pants and four shirts and do them nice or you will see...he deserves that and more from you....

Golo put aside the shirt he had selected and held a pair of pants in his hands.

Golo: I don't know, but I think they are not going to be as in the laundry....

Mrs. Sosa: You better do it right [smiling].

The ethnographer asked what the water was for and Golo explained,

Golo: The water in here...you press this button and water comes out through these holes. You don't have to humidify the cloth, the iron does it for you.

Mrs. Sosa: It's not water, silly...it's the steam...see the smoke coming out?...do it again...see? That steam is humid and that helps to press the cloth...like in the laundry.

As the ethnographer and Mrs. Sosa engaged in conversation about Mrs. Sosa's playing of the numbers, Golo would interject comments about the numbers selected.

Ethnographer: Do Golo and Juan know how to play?

Mrs. Sosa: Yes, but I don't allow them to spend money gambling ...but if they tell me a number, Damaso, Sr. or me

always play it....I have won some money with numbers they have given to me....

Golo: Oh yes...two weeks ago I gave you 326, remember?

Ethnographer: Why that number?

Golo: It was on the laundry ticket.

While pressing the clothes, Golo kept going back and forth from the kitchen, each time coming back to his "pressing," eating meatballs. He ate almost eight meatballs during that period.

Mrs. Sosa organized the household around tasks that were needed to maintain continuity of the household in a manner that was careful and comprehensive. Indeed, not only did she organize the activities, but also the space. Everything was set up in such a way as to allow (and encourage) other family members to "do" for themselves. The dishes and other utensils were arranged for easy access, everyone's clothing had a specific space. In fact, many of Mrs. Sosa's efforts were directed towards simplifying household management and food processing activities:

Mrs. Sosa: I almost never put the chinaware in the china cabinet, nor the utensils. They are always here, as you see them....The drinking glasses are on that shelf where everyone can reach them whenever they can get it and clean it, of course, and then return it to its place.

Ethnographer: Even your youngest child, Damaso, Jr.?

Mrs. Sosa: Yes, he comes into the kitchen, opens the refrigerator and helps himself with a pail [he turns it upside down] and has his glass of milk.

Even though the rest of the family members were compliant and cooperative, there was no question that Mrs. Sosa served as the metronome for almost all of their activities. So, even when she was not present to supervise, she set up ways of ordering the sequences of activities. When Mr. Sosa did the shopping, it was with his wife's list.

Mr. Sosa: I did the shopping.

Mrs. Sosa: Did you get everything on the list I gave you?

Mr. Sosa: Yes.

Mrs. Sosa: And nothing more, I hope. With our money I don't want you getting anything that I don't write down on the list.

Ironically, inasmuch as Mrs. Sosa was an avid student, the ethnographer reported that those household artifacts associated with

school, that is, her children's desks, books and homework space, were in a state of disarray. The ethnographer saw a pile of printed material on top of one of the desks. But on top of these papers, books and magazines were piled a lot of other things including clothes, empty boxes, towels and toys. Mrs. Sosa had purchased the desk for Juan's and Golo's homework, but more often than not they did it on the dining room table, the sofa or their bed. While these bad "habits" bothered Mrs. Sosa, she was never seen actively attempting to change them.

Entertainment. The Sosas lived on a fairly tight budget. They supplemented their food acquisitions with leftover, unused lunches and milk that Mr. Sosa was allowed to bring home from his job in the school cafeteria. Presumably, they had few funds left over for entertainment. Perhaps this is why the Sosa family spent so much free time watching television. Although the boys had bicycles hanging in their rooms, they were not seen using them. Mrs. Sosa appeared to have a laissez-faire attitude towards television. She was never seen watching it much, but she was never heard being critical of other family members who appeared to watch a great deal of it, alone and together.

On one occasion, Mrs. Sosa was heard to offer the closest thing to a reproach on the subject of televion. Mr. Sosa was watching the small black and white TV they had bought for him because he had abused the control mechanism of the color set. While talking with the ethnographer, Mrs. Sosa looked at Damaso, Jr. and suddenly took one of her slippers in her hand, walked towards him and hit him over the head.

Mrs. Sosa: I told you before, that if I had to tell you once more to move a little farther from the screen, I would do it this way. You already know that you can hurt your sight. [Damaso, Jr. did not seem to be hurt. He did not cry or make any comment.]

It was quite common to see the Sosa males eat dinner in front of the television, making comments to each other about the show they were watching. Sometimes they argued about the content of the show, usually a sporting event, they were watching. In fact, this was the only family scene in which Mr. Sosa was interacting for any length of time. He would become quite animated in these conversations.

In stark contrast to this form of recreation were Mrs. Sosa's leisure time activities. While she did not have any hobbies that could be observed, she did make efforts to get out of the house and go to school-related activities (both social and cultural), usually alone.

Mrs. Sosa: My school life is very private....I invite Damaso, Sr. whenever there's a party that we can talk about several things, but when there is something formal about school matters, I go by myself.

Ethnographer: Such as?

Mrs. Sosa: Conferences, pictures...workshops....It's not that I feel embarrassed with Damaso, but if he does not know anything about what I am doing, he becomes bored.

Ethnographer: Where are the places you go with your family?

Mrs. Sosa: We used to go to some dance parties in my college... Hostos and Hunter...and we used to go with the children to the beach or pool and parks. They were crazy about them. But we only did that in the summer and even then I always brought something to read... not school stuff, but some relaxing reading.

Ethnographer: Do you take the children to movies or plays?

Mrs. Sosa: Never...but I would like to...right now there are two plays I would like to see with them...Peter Pan and Annie...but who can afford that?

So the Sosas wait until that day when they can do all the things they can only dream about now. The Sosa men spend their time in front of the TV while Mrs. Sosa, through her studies, builds an intellectual world to which she can escape from the stresses of organizing and managing a household.

Family Record Keeping. Rebecca Sosa felt strong ties to her native Puerto Rico. She expressed this often during the study, but never as forcefully as on one occasion when she discussed her participation in the Partico Socialista Puertorriqueno (PSP). The PSP advocates the independence of Puerto Rico from the United States.

Mrs. Sosa: I am not from here. I am a Puerto Rican, and feel very proud of it. I am not a Niuyorican. The Niuyoricans tend to imitate North Americans and they don't speak Spanish. When they go back to Puerto Rico, they look more like North Americans than Puerto Ricans. I feel very comfortable in Puerto Rico because I am always the same here or there. The person who disowns his culture denies his country and his mother....I am here for economic reasons, I don't feel embarrassed to be into Welfare. If the Americans are there in Puerto Rico, I am here in Welfare.

Part of this identification was manifest in the informal way the Sosas handled inviting the ethnographer to dinner. A lot of thoughts ran through the ethnographer's head. If she refused their invitation, she thought the Sosas might interpret her sharing with them as very formal, professional and in some way distanced. If she said yes, she'd have to stay and eat their food, food that their budget does not include. She did not think they were issuing the invitation only to be polite;

they were so willing to share with her. Yet, inviting her to stay for dinner might be their way or one of their ways of sharing. As a Puerto Rican herself, the ethnographer realized that this was not an unusual event. They were doing this with her as they might be doing it with anybody else. They treated the ethnographer with familiarity and informality, a form of "hospitality" that characterizes many Puerto Rican families. Having dinner with the Sosas had no other meaning than sharing their everyday life experiences.

But in other ways Mrs. Sosa rejected her working class experiences in her native homeland. She pushed her husband to go to college. She did not want him to remain a mechanic.

> Mrs. Sosa: You don't look like a mechanic. You may take some courses as an X-ray technician and can even become a doctor if you want. How beautiful it will sound if someone called you "Dr. Sosa." You can even have the Volvo you have dreamed about all your life [laughs].

In relation to her children's schoolwork, she was confident that they would "struggle to succeed in school." She hoped that they would look at her as an example.

> Mrs. Sosa: This is the only way I can help them....I have no time to go to PTA meetings and the like. What I am doing is for them also. They must understand me and that I need time for myself. Nevertheless, when the teachers ask me to go to visit them I go. They know if they don't behave they will have a hard time with me at home.

The Sosas also organized their sense of family history around their photograph album. It was a frequent ritual in the Sosa household to review and discuss the photographs, and Damaso, Jr. was a regular participant.

> Mr. Sosa: This...this...and this [taking one album at a time].
>
> Mrs. Sosa: He knows which is first, that's what he's telling you, the order.

Almost all the pictures in the Sosa family albums were of relatives. A very few photos were of friends or acquaintances. There were pictures taken in both Puerto Rico and New York City and these included shots of birthday parties, baptisms, weddings, graduations and class pictures.

Mrs. Sosa's children from her first, second and her present marriages are all arranged chronologically. In addition, there were pictures of Rebecca's second husband's children whom she identified as stepson and stepdaughters. As she told the ethnographer, she kept in contact with them and her children all knew of them.

Most of the pictures were taken indoors, with only two sets having been taken at the beach (one in Puerto Rico and the other in New York City).

There was a picture of Mrs. Sosa in her graduation gown when she finished school at the community college, as well as two shots taken on the same day--one of Mrs. Sosa and the school's Director of Puerto Rican Studies and another with her department's secretary.

Mrs. Sosa's wedding pictures (of her marriage to Damaso) were included in these albums, with many shots including her two sons from a previous marriage. Damaso, Jr. was not present in any of them.

As the ethnographer reviewed the photos with Mrs. Sosa and her children, Damaso, Jr. constantly pointed to shots of his brothers, his sisters and his parents. He did not mention anyone else, but of those he did refer to, he showed an awareness of the passing of time and how people looked at different stages or times in their life.

Damaso, Jr.: This is my sister, Norelia, my, my Juan, Golo.... This is me, little baby....I am tall now, see? [Stood up] This mommy, she skinny here...papi... skinny. This is me and me and me...ah...This is me, me school, me teacher....This is my friend and my friend [pointed to his nursery school classmates].

He turned the pages quickly but used the same pattern of identifying the people in the photos throughout. Finally, "Se 'aabo'... finishshshshsh...," he said as he closed the last album.

The ethnographer thought that these albums played an important role as artifacts of nostalgia for events that were photographed, and they also helped give the Sosas a sense of the temporal qualities of their family. It also became clear to the ethnographer that the family members not only used the photos to stimulate oral recollections, oral tradition and gain some kind of consensus about their history, but also engaged in competitions over who had the best memory about the people and events recorded in pictures. This became quite evident on a different occasion when the ethnographer, Juan and Golo looked at the album again while lying on the children's beds.

Golo: Let's look at this one, this is the first one, the second one and the last, okay?

Juan: This is the first time Mommy came to New York.... When she left us. This was the first time she stayed in...

Golo: ...People said that she abandoned us.

Ethnographer: Who said so?

Both: A lot of people in Puerto Rico.

Ethnographer: What really did happen?

Golo: No, you know, she came here because my father, you know...

Juan: ...bothered her and use to hit her...

Golo: ...and she got tired and came here.

During the same episode, this sequence followed:

Juan: This is Mommy when she was young...she was skinny.

Golo: See how pretty she was....These are my two sisters, The fat one is Noemi and the tallest one is Eileen. Now this is 15, almost 16 and the oldest is 16, almost 17.

Ethnographer: Where was this picture taken?

Golo: It was taken in Puerto Rico in the house of my mother's aunt...and this is my sister (Golo's and Juan's father's daughter in his first marriage) and I am the uncle of the boy and girl.

Ethnographer: Are they your nephews?

Golo: These two, and there is another one who is a newborn baby.

Ethnographer: Is she your father's daughter?

Golo: Yes, she's my sister...my father's. This is my aunt, my grandma, my aunt, my aunt.

Ethnographer: When were the pictures taken?

Juan: A long time ago...

A mild conflict over the authorship of one of the photos broke out but was successfully mediated.

Juan: This is Yuyu's house...here Damaso was younger.

Golo: This was...was me.

Juan: ...was me...

Golo: [arguing] was me...

Juan: Was me who took the picture.

Golo: But you did not take it...

Juan: I did take the picture.

Golo: But it was not okay....Damaso put his leg in front of his face and you could not get him.

The picture they argued about is of Mr. and Mrs. Sosa lying on the bed in their bedroom. Their mother was smiling very openly and Mr. Sosa was hiding his face with his leg. It seemed as if their parents were mugging in front of the camera.

Another sequence again revealed the boys' sense of the temporal aspects of family history.

Ethnographer: Is that all your family?

Juan: No [pointing to another picture]. This is our family, the whole family!!!

Golo: Yes, in Puerto Rico we were skinny....This is the oldest sister, these are my mother's aunts, this is mommy, and this one died when she was 100 years old.

Juan: This is me.

Golo: And this is Cota.

Ethnographer: Who is Cota?

Golo: She is my aunt...and that's me, look how skinny I was....This is my fatty sister, and this is Juan.... look how skinny you were.

Juan: ...and this is mommy...young and skinny.

Golo: If she becomes skinny again, she is going to look taller...look how tall she looks there.... This here is Jorgito, these were my friends in Puerto Rico....I was the best in the photos....I used to stand very cool...cool! [Laughs]

The ethnographer noticed a poem, written in Spanish, next to the photo of the boys' parents. Before she could comment, Golo spoke excitedly:

Golo: Look at this, look at this....

Ethnographer: The poem?

Juan: Let me read it....No, both of us, you read one and I read one.

Golo: You first, go ahead.

Juan: [reading] "My child he laughs,"

Golo: "And I laugh too."

Juan: "My child he cries,"

Golo: "And I cry, too."

Juan: "My child, he loves,"

Golo: "And I love, too."

Juan: "But if I hit...hit,"

Golo: Hate.

Juan: Hate.

Golo: "He hates not too" [pointing to another phrase]. Now look up here [he begins to read]. "Asi es espezaron Mama...Papa" [Mommy and Pappy started like this].

The Halliburton Family

Family Background. The Halliburton household consists of four individuals:

Constance, 53, Mother
Brian, 17, Son
Aaron, 15, Son
Karen, 12, Daughter

Mrs. Constance Halliburton is a Black American separated from her husband for the past ten years. During this decade of estrangement, she has rarely received an alimony or court-ordered child support assistance from her husband, who is a civil servant at the local level. Approximately eight years ago, Mrs. Halliburton suffered a stroke which left her lower right arm partially paralyzed and limited in use, and left her with a limp. Her annual income of approximately $6,000 is derived partly from the Social Security Disability checks she receives and partly from the part-time employment of her oldest son who is a hot-dog vendor at local sporting events.

This income plus the sporadic and infrequent monies sent by her husband enables her to maintain a four-room apartment in a low-income housing project in New York City.

The family live in a two-bedroom apartment where Mrs. Halliburton shares one bedroom with her daughter while the two boys share the other.

Brian is a high school senior, Aaron a high school sophomore, and Karen a seventh grader at a local intermediate school.

Household Management. Mrs. Constance Halliburton's family differed from the rest of our participating families in that no adult male lived in the home. Furthermore, due to a health disability she did not work and therefore thought of herself as a full-time housewife or, perhaps more accurately, as a homeworker. She has responded to this situation for the past ten years by following a mixed policy of independent and shared decision making in household management. For example, when the ethnographer inquired about grocery shopping.

Ethnographer: Who decides which items to purchase?

Mrs. Halliburton: I do. Before we leave the house, I decide what we're going to buy.

Ethnographer: And I imagine that they [the children] have the major responsibility of carrying the packages?

Mrs. Halliburton: Yes, definitely.

While the Halliburton children liked to eat a lot of "junk" foods, candy bars, sweets and potato chips, Mrs. Halliburton tried to make them steer clear of such foods. She also tried to maintain a shopping plan that limited the foods she purchased to those items unanimously enjoyed. She was observed to be the main preparer of lunch and dinner, although breakfast seemed to be a shared activity. Mrs. Halliburton considered her kitchen to be efficiently organized and the only help she seemed to get was from her daughter Karen. Breakfast usually consisted of cereals, toast and milk, which the children helped themselves to before leaving for school.

The family lived in a four-room apartment which was maintained by all of them. For example, as furnishings were acquired, either by purchase or inheritance, Mrs. Halliburton allowed those articles secured for the children to be arranged by them.

Ethnographer: What about their own room or rooms? Did they decorate them themselves?

Mrs. Halliburton: Decorate? Yes. Karen, you can tell him more about that.

Karen: Yes, we did it ourselves by painting and putting up posters. Some we buy and some we make in school.

The children also helped their mother in the housecleaning, dusting and other household chores. The tasks were rotated among the children by their mother who would patiently explain how the chore was to be done and periodically checked to see if it was being done properly. Yet,

beyond a certain point, the children were expected to carry on without supervision.

Ethnographer: Listen, when your children, all your children, you ask them to do certain jobs, certain tasks in the house, how do you know if and when they're completed?

Mrs. Halliburton: Well, I can't follow around behind them all the time. I have to depend on their honesty, more than anything.

Ethnographer: Kind of like an honor system.

Mrs. Halliburton: Yes, I would say that.

Mrs. Halliburton's oldest son, Brian, also assisted his mother in planning the household routines and talked about his perceptions of his role.

Brian: I take the role of being the man of the house and I feel that it's necessary for me to do the planning, okay? And one thing, I try to lay out a schedule for my brother and sister's work, around the house, do certain tasks around the house and point out to them several events and we plan stuff together.

The younger children did not seem to resent their older brother's status. In fact, it appeared to the ethnographer that they were cooperative with Brian.

Entertainment, Schooling and Religious Activities. Although the Halliburtons worked extremely hard, they did spend significant amounts of time in leisure or recreational activities. There were two television sets (one color) in the apartment, and it was observed that many of the shows watched involved sports. Besides the boys, Mrs. Halliburton's daughter Karen and Mrs. Halliburton, too, shared an interest in sports that carried over into the TV viewing.

Ethnographer: Now when the programs concerning...when the programs involve sports, 'cause you have children, a boy fifteen and a boy seventeen, do you participate in watching sports, too?

Mrs. Halliburton: Yes, I like football, yes.

Ethnographer: What about basketball?

Mrs. Halliburton: Yes, I like basketball.

Ethnographer: What about you, Karen, do you like any sports?

Karen: I like all kinds of sports. My favorite is tennis. I like to watch it on TV. My brothers sometimes watch it with me, but I guess they're more interested in basketball than tennis.

Ethnographer: Have any of your brothers expressed an interest in playing tenn[illegible]

Karen: No, neither of them.

Mrs. Halliburton played an active role in the family's television viewing by suggesting shows that she thought the entire family would benefit from watching. She did this particularly on Sunday evenings when the whole family watched TV together. Otherwise, she allowed each of the children to watch their favorite shows as long as it did not interfere with homework and chores.

Although Mrs. Halliburton had been separated for over 10 years, the children did see their father quite often and engage in many recreational activities with him. They also, when visiting with him, saw their grandmother (Mr. Halliburton's mother), with whom they had a close relationship.

Ethnographer: Do the children and their father take part in activities together?

Karen: Yes, we do.

Ethnographer: What do you do?

Karen: Well, we go to different...all kinds of games, we go to the park, play baseball, all kinds of things.

Mrs. Halliburton was very strict regarding homework and school. She made it a practice to visit the school on parents-teachers night and open school week as well as whenever she was invitied or felt she needed to discuss something with her children's teachers.

Ethnographer: Do you feel it's a worthwhile activity?

Mrs. Halliburton: Definitely.

Ethnographer: Why?

Mrs. Halliburton: Because I get to know my children...who my children are being influenced by, I should say.

It was observed that the children usually began their homework right after coming home from school, before they went out to play. Their mother was quite involved with them during this activity, going over the work discussing the assignments. But it was also noticed that the children also cooperated with and helped each other out. Mrs.

Halliburton insisted, however, on seeing the final product from each. She was concerned that not only should the work be done, but that it be done correctly.

The Halliburtons were Methodists. Even though Mrs. Halliburton's disability limited her ability to participate as often as she wanted to at her place of worship, the children were quite involved.

Ethnographer: Do your children take part in church activities?

Mrs. Halliburton: Yes, they do...through their grandmother.

Ethnographer: What do you mean by that?

Mrs. Halliburton: Well, their grandmother is very active in the church and she is always giving programs or on some committee that she involves the children in...and they go down there and help her out in all her activities, so they're very involved.

Mrs. Halliburton as the sole parent in the household not only managed to "direct the traffic" in her home but also to incorporate her children's activities with other members of the extended family in order to augment what she provided. She was also able to integrate the contributions of her oldest son in such a way as to complement her household management. Whether this structuring of household activities would have been similar if Mrs. Halliburton had to work to support her family is hard to say.

Family Record Keeping. The Halliburtons did not keep (or at least we did not observe) photograph albums. The maintenance and dissemination of Mrs. Halliburton's brother's leters written during World War II served as valuable memorabilia for the utilization and preservation of family pride and achievement. Those letters were read by her children. Additionally, more so than in our other families, the Halliburtons took a keen interest in "passing down" other kinds of artifacts such as antiques, and particular pieces of furniture that had special sentiment for them. Their oral tradition has become associated with the "presentation" of these artifacts. In other words, the artifact symbolizes the telling of a particular piece of the Halliburton family history.

The Taylor Family

Family Background. The Taylor household consists of four individuals:

Shelley, 35, Mother
Robert, 36, Father
Malcolm, 15, Son
Mark, 12, Son

Mrs. Shelley Taylor is a native Black American who lives with her husband, Robert, an unemployed construction worker. Mrs. Taylor works as

a part-time salesclerk in a local clothing store where she earns approximately $125 a week. Together with her husband's unemployment benefits, the family income is approximately $9,500 annually. However, Mr. Taylor's unemployment benefits are scheduled to be terminated shortly because the time for his accrued benefits is expiring.

Mark is a seventh grader in a public junior high school, and Malcolm is a ninth grade student in the same school.

The family occupies a four-room apartment with two bedrooms in a rent-controoled building in Central Harlem. Mr. and Mrs. Taylor share one bedroom while the two boys sleep in bunkbeds in the other.

Household Management. Despite her part-time job as a clerk in a department clothing store, Mrs. Taylor was observed to be quite active in household activities. For example, although her children were observed accompanying her on food shopping excursions, it was Mrs. Taylor who drew up the shopping list and who selected the items on the shelves. The children seemed only concerned with snack selection.

Mrs. Taylor: Very often they like to go just to make sure they get what they want.

Ethnographer: Well, who decides which items to purchase?

Mrs. Taylor: I do...well, of course, they do influence my decision and there are certain things that they like and if it's not too much in the way of junk food, I will pick it up for them....You see, I usually make a list before I go and I ask the children if there's anything in particular that they would like, especially in the snack area, because my menus are basically planned then a day or so ahead of time so I know exactly what I'm going to need for the week.

Ethnographer: Well, that's interesting because...

Mrs. Taylor: But they do like to have snacks watching television or right after school. I allow them to decide certain things that they would like to eat as long as it's, you know...

Most of the meals were observed to be prepared by Mrs. Taylor with very little assistance from the rest of her family, but all were involved with various activities that fall under the heading of household management.

Mrs. Taylor: I think children have to have that sense of responsibility. They have certain chores that they have to perform and if they do these things, certain things, like going to the movies on Saturday afternoon or planning something as a

family on Sunday afternoon...we do it more enthusiastically if we know that we've gotten some of these routine chores out of the way and they're very anxious to do it because they know that we want to do these things so we'll have more time on the weekends to free us for other things we'd really like to do.

Ethnographer: Well, who assigns these tasks?

Mrs. Taylor: Well, I used to do it, but my husband now is taking over most of that responsibility. I think being boys, it's more fitting for him to handle it at this point.

Ethnographer: Are they rotated?

Mrs. Taylor: Not too much because...Malcolm is given what he can physically handle and Mark is given what he can do so each ofthem have a set amount of chores in which they're expected to...

The two boys shared a room that reflected a combination of their tastes. Mrs. Taylor had indicated several times that, although she was primarily responsible for decorating the house, her two sons were given the opportunity to select the color scheme and wall decorations for their room. Artwork done at school and at home was put on display on the walls of their room. Bookcases made in Industrial Arts classes in school were put to functional use and posters were also hung up.

Entertainment and Religion. Although the household did not have a color television set, several black-and-white TV's were situated throughout the house, including one small set in the boys' room. Television watching appeared to be an after-school activity of major proportions and was a fixed recreational event for the Taylor boys as well. Still, after-school activities were observed to be quite diverse. At different times, both children were reported to go swimming in an indoor pool supervised by the City of New York which is open all year round.

Mrs. Taylor: ...and we have a lovely pool that my children enjoy almost all year round, mostly during the warmer months, though. And they do that right after school. It's a great luxury to come home from school and jump in the pool.

But apparently the boys also play chess and backgammon with each other and with their father.

Mrs. Taylor: ...we have a chess set, a lovely chess set, a backgammon set, and my husband's very good at these things. He plays a lot of games with them. And of course, there's always some new hobby coming up between the boys...from collecting and

cataloguing every Marvel comic that came out since 1965 or somethi-,....There's something, baseball cards or little toy cars, match cars, Matchbox cars they call them. Everytime I turn around the boys are coming out with a new hobby. I never know what to expect.

Evidence of these activities could be seen in the boys' room as well as in other parts of the house.

The Taylors were very religious, with their religion, Jehovah's Witnesses, permeating many of the events in the home. For example, the family was observed discussing the Bible at dinner on several occasions. The children were seen making projects that were assigned by the Witnesses' Ministry School.

Mrs. Taylor: We are presently beginning to associate with Jehovah's Witnesses and I found that it's a whole new spiritual dimension to our lives....And I would say that through their system of Bible studies, it really makes you think and it's just done so much work and I just can't begin to tell you how much this has added, I would say, to our children's reading ability....In fact, I think since we've been studying with the Witnesses....I didn't know exactly why but one of his teachers said their city-wide reading scores had jumped up tremendously and was there anything outside the school that we were doing to make them better at understanding what they were reading, and I said, well, perhaps it might've come out of the fact that we are involved in a lot of reading as far as religious literature goes and in a lot of question-and-answer-type situations. So, I would say, yes, very definitely religion has influenced our home.

The ethnographer indicated that the Taylors not only held home Bible study with their children, but took them along to the meetings held by the Witnesses. It appeared that there was no differentiation between certain classes for adults and certain classes for children. Apparently, children were considered to learn from infancy on the same level as adults. On one occasion, the boys were assigned to read a chapter or so of the Bible and to prepare a summary of what they had read. But since what they had read had an underlying theme, they also had to do a six-minute presentation, after which they had to answer a series of questions from a designated member of the audience. They were then evaluated on various things such as public speaking, accuracy of interpretation and the like. The observer described it as being like a report card.

Much of what the Taylors do seems to involve a great deal of deliberate evaluation. The Taylor children do not get their allowances until their chores have been inspected. Weekend television viewing is

subject to the close scrutiny of Mrs. Taylor. Their homework is closely monitored and evaluated, as is their home religious training. Even when the family watches television together, the content of the show is discussed and its quality evaluated.

Ethnographer: Do you help them decide just how good or bad a TV show was? Do you listen to their opinions concerning the value judgments attached to a TV show?

Mrs. Taylor: Well, sometimes, they'll volunteer their opinions. I don't even have to ask because they're very inquisitive children and they're children that are very quick to express themselves. And after they've made whatever comments they want on the television show, I, of course, have my own ideas on it and my husband might have something to say on it, and before you know it, they're all in a discussion about it whether the show was good, bad...not so much as whether it wasn't suitable for them to watch because we try to monitor that anyway. But whether or not they got the message, you know, whatever the show was trying to relate to them, especially those after-school programs....

Family Record Keeping. In the Taylor family, the ethnographer found similar historical uses for photographs; noting how memories are evoked and how the children are taught a sense of tradition. Mrs. Taylor showed him photos of her children's birthday party. She recalled the menu choice was either pizza or a hamburger and french fries. But more interesting was her way of weaving the events of the day into a story that undoubtedly would be, indeed, had been repeated for family and friends. It was obviously a passage from what was or would become part of the Taylors' oral history tradition:

Mrs. Taylor: ...my husband and I planned for this party about six months in advance and each week we put a little aside and since the boys' birthdays are very close together in early October, we decided to have a pretty big celebration that year. And as you can see, we were fortunate enough to have a clown entertain the boys at the party....And as you can see, the children are really getting a big break out of it and they're having a lot of fun. And he said a lot of funny things, he did a lot of funny things, and he had Mark and Malcolm both go up to perform magic tricks. It was really very entertaining....Of course, the ice cream and cake and all that sort of thing was brought out later on. All of the children attending, a lot of them were their school friends, and as you can see there're some children who are friends of theirs from the neighborhood and there are children from the family....We took some individual shots of my

husband with the boys and group shots. It was really a delightful day and all the pictures came out extremely well. Then after the party we continued the celebration by coming home and we took more pictures at home with Mark and Malcolm unwrapping their lovely gifts. They really got some very nice things and we took pictures of them doing that also.

Ethnographer: Who are these children here?

Mrs. Taylor: They are my son's school friends which you see here in this picture. And we made it especially nice. We had a pajama party. We allowed a couple of the boys to spend the night that weekend.

A second album was observed being discussed by Mrs. Taylor and her son Malcolm. Most of the pictures were of Malcolm's sleep-away camp experiences. After exchanging reminiscences, Malcolm and his mother observed the following:

Malcolm: Yes, I think Mark will enjoy it just as much as I did at the camp. It means a lot to me to look back over all my camp experiences and relive the whole summer in one album. One of these days, I will show it to my son.

Mrs. Taylor: Malcolm, you've made a good point. Our family has always been strong on tradition and maintaining certain photographs and reliving all these memories from the past. That's why we have so many family albums and pictures of aunts and uncles, cousins... your father and I and in our childhood because we believe it's important to give us a sense of roots, as you would say, and a sense of well-being about ourselves and where we were yesterday and where we're going tomorrow.

VII. EDUCATIVE STYLES AND AGENDAS AND COGNITIVE PROCESSES IN THE FOUR FAMILIES: GENERAL THEMES

What we have attempted thus far is to present a snapshot picture of each of the four families through the presentation of extracts of the data on each as this illuminates characteristic features of the organization of household activities. What this means is descriptions of segments of the stream of family activity as it unfolded in the presence of the ethnographers. As discussed above, we have not attempted to achieve a complete "specimen record" of an entire daily or weekly round of family activity, as has been attempted in some work in ecological psychology (Barker and Wright, 1949), but we have segments of the activity collected through repeated visits, over differing periods of time, at the convenience of the families.

We have presented some fairly long segments of extracted material as a basis for a discussion of levels of data in ethnographic research and issues in the analysis of these data. Before turning to a discussion of these issues, some general themes in the data should be noted.

We set out to portray the organization of the family as a group, drawing on data from both individuals and interactions. In attempting to describe this organization, what has emerged is an emphasis on the role of the mother in each of the families and the characteristic ways in which she related to other family members in carrying out household activities, that is, the division of labor within the family. There were differences among the families in the ways in which responsibilities were divided, for example, differences in the presence or absence of the father, in the nature and extent of the mother's activities outside the home, in the concepts of appropriate roles for men and women, in ideas about the kinds of deference that should be shown to those of the opposite sex. Yet the mothers in all of the families were central as coordinators of the families' activities. Thus, in attempting to obtain a picture of the family as a unit, a picture emerged which emphasized the mothers. While interviews were carried out with other family members and observations were made of occasions at which all family members were present, if one wished to have a portrait of the family from the perspective of one of the children or the husband, a special emphasis in gathering data on that individual would be required.

Another point that applies to all the families is that the boundaries between the family and the larger community were indeed permeable. The ethnographers went in with an open mandate to try to obtain a picture of the life of a family and were immediately confronted with the comings and goings of family members, as parents went to work and children went to school, and with the limited amount of time that members of the family spent in the household together. Household composition varied from one family to another, with divorce in one case, children from previous marriages in other cases, and it was clear that there was considerable involvement with kin outside the immediate household in all families. In the case of the wife who was a single parent, for example, the husband from whom she was separated still played some part in the household, and his mother had an active role in the children's ties to the community and their religious education. In the case of one of the Hispanic families, kin outside the household, including children from previous marriages, came and went, and in one family a boarder was present.

This variability in household composition, and the moving in and out of individuals in all of the families, from moment to moment, must be kept in mind in efforts to understand the impact of families on their members.

Another point that was evident in all of the families was that education within the family was conditioned by their involvement with institutions outside the home. The relation of the family to the children's school was, of course, important in their approaches to education, but beyond this the experience of parents with schooling,

in one of the Hispanic families, the mother's schooling was crucial not only in the organization of daily activities but in concepts of and approaches to education. Television was present in all of the homes and entered into the educational life of all the families, although differences were evident in the ways in which television was selected, scheduled, criticized and appraised. Beyond this, ties with other institutions in the community, particularly religious institutions, were significant for families in their approaches to education and were specifically seen as sources of education. Reports by family members and observations of the ethnographers made clear that religious services were thought of as models of education, models, for example, of appropriate times and places for reading, and ways of learning through questioning and answering.

Beyond this, all the families placed a strong emphasis on the value of formal education, and all were deeply concerned with the educational opportunities of their children and the ways in which education could help to improve their lives. The educative agendas of all of the family members were active, and education was given priority in actual choices. For example, the Lopez family was prepared to send the son away from home in order to attend a boarding school where they believed he would have improved educational opportunities. In the Sosa family, the mother made strenuous efforts to organize her household activities in order to allow time to attend college herself, even at the expense of giving up time with her children, although she regretted not having been more available to them. In both the Halliburton and the Taylor families, a strong emphasis was placed on the scheduling, organizing and monitoring family activities so as to facilitate the children's chances of doing well in school.

The data on all of the families support the original assumption of the research that significant intellectual or cognitive processes take place in everyday settings, and that an examination of the individual's or family's approach to education can reveal these cognitive processes. The effort to describe and understand a portion of the rapidly shifting settings of families has made clear that these environments are indeed lively ones in which a wide range of educationally significant activities take place. In all the famlies, decisions, both small-scale and large, that take place in the course of family activities entailed searching for information, appraising and evaluating information, weighing evidence, characterizing and describing situations and drawing inferences from evidence. This is clear, for instance, in the most minute decision with respect to where to shop in order to save money. The brief discussion, for example, in the Lopez family of Mrs. Lopez's visit to the Chinese grocer (p. 25) is a clear illustration of the complex cognitive processes involved in an everyday decision. Information was obtained and presented on the price of items in the Chinese store and in the local supermarket, implying that this information had been sought, an exact calculation of the difference in price between the two stores on different items was made, the difference between the items in the two stores was calculated, evidently by subtraction, and the total amount saved that day was calculated, evidently by addition. Beyond this, there was a projection of the amount that would be saved over a period of time--"a dollar

today...a dollar tomorrow." Most important, this material was presented spontaneously in a tape recorded interview with the mother in the course of other discussion, without any particular recognition that these were cognitive skills, but rather as a statement about her achievements in household management. Small-scale examples such as these might easily go unnoticed, but are important because one can presume that they are recurrent (Jackson, 1968).

Decisions of a larger scale occurring only under special circumstances, for example, the decision in the Lopez family to send their son out of the country to a boarding school, entailed searching for information, diagnostic appraisal of their son's reading difficulties, appraisal of the help achieved for the money expended so far, as well as an evaluation of the reading specialist and a decision not to follow the advice of the professional. All of this thinking based on the observation and analysis, for example, "I don't see any progress in his reading." Moreover, the decision to take a course different from that recommended by the specialist was made despite the fact that it might conceivably hurt the reading specialist's feelings--"Poor Dr. Hall...Jamie is not going to the summer camp" (p. 30). The decision also entailed an evaluation of the prospective school--"It is a very prestigious school" and "they are not soft...they demand a lot from the students" (p. 30). Thus, similar processes of obtaining and appraising information may be seen in making major decisions with respect to education, and in making a day-to-day routine decision with respect to purchases.

Another point that was evident in all the families was that spatial organization in the home reflected educative styles and agendas. For example, in the Sosa household, the kitchen was deliberately arranged so that Mrs. Sosa would spend as little time as possible in cooking in order to save time for her studies, and others in the families could have easy access to food and utensils and help themselves--"The drinking glasses are on that shelf where everyone can reach them" (p. 41).

In all the families a high value was placed on education. All families had aspirations for their children to succeed in school, and there were also hopes, at least in the Sosa family, that it would be possible for the adults as well to obtain further schooling and change their lives by education, for example, the hope of Mrs. Sosa that her husband might go to school to become an X-ray technician or even a doctor and not remain a mechanic (p. 44).

Further analysis of these approaches to education requires consideration of the kinds of texts that are created through interviews and ethnographic descriptions of segments of the stream of family activity.

VIII. LEVELS OF DATA IN ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS AND ISSUES OF ANALYSIS

The data that we have presented, segments from glimpses of the stream of family activity, should help to make it clear why achieving comparability from one family to another is so complex. Even in terms

of a specific event, such as dinner, so much variability exists that it is exceedingly difficult to approach it in ways that are comparable from one family to another. By focusing on certain very general areas, household management, recreation and special interest activities, and family record keeping, the aim was to present a picture in which variations in styles of organization could be seen. But the picture is partial, the focus to some extent is on the family from the point of view of the mothers, and the data on different areas of activity are by no means equivalent in depth or detail across all families. A great deal of time is required to achieve sufficient rapport and to make possible initial conversations with even one member of a family. Far more time would be required to obtain a picture from the perspective of each of the members of a given family, and even more time would be required to probe to see whether areas that emerged in one family were absent in another or simply not matters of discussion at the time of the interview. A more specific focus, however, might obscure discussion of issues of particular importance to a specific family. Moreover, focused interviewing could not replace observations of events such as small-scale arguments and disagreements, which cannot be anticipated or set up.

The extracts from ethnographic texts that we have presented rest on observation and interview data at a variety of levels. A description of the mother's style of organization in household management, for example, rests on her reports on what she believes she is doing, combined with descriptions and reactions of others in the family to her initiatives as reported by others, combined with observations of the ethnographer. When some consistency is found in the picture that emerges from different levels of data, for example, when reports that the wife was seen to direct the husband's conversation are consistent with segments of a tape recording, and with observations by the wife, particularly when these are unsolicited, it is likely that the consistency from one level of data to another implies a certain accuracy in the observation. At least, one can presume that a fuller picture has been obtained than if one were simply to ask a standardized question, such as, "Who does most of the talking in your family?" Such a question might be evocative and lead to interesting data, but these data would not necessarily correspond with data from observation.

Because of the complexity of the many layers of experience within the family and the differing perspectives of different members of the family, one cannot presume that a picture, even one drawn from a variety of kinds of data that have been brought together in combination, is necessarily a picture that would represent the portrayal of each of the individual members of the family. In the case, for example, where the husband was not seen to object when his wife cut into his sentences, one can note this lack of overt objection, one can conjecture that this represents a situation that takes place on other occasions, and one can speculate that his failure to object to his wife's cutting into the conversation represents, in some sense, acceptance or habituation to this form of conversational structure. Yet, one cannot know what his objective response to this situation might be, whether his response would be consistent from one moment to another, and the circumstances under which his reaction might be modified. It could be, for example,

that a husband would resent his wife's "control" of the conversation, yet this resentment would appear only in private fantasy or only in a "disguised" form. Yet occasions for "insight" into this resentment, if indeed it did exist, might never occur.

It is impossible to grasp all of the multiple levels of experience and communication within a family and the varying perspectives of different family members on that experience and communication. It becomes even more complex when the ethnographer is added to the scene. In attempting to understand the ways in which these different levels fit together, one assumption must be clearly kept in mind--that one level is not necessarily more valid or "true" than another. This is contrary, for example, to the assumption in some therapies where the intention is to uncover those levels that are ordinarily unfamiliar to participants and the assumption is made that the unrecognized levels are the ones that are "true." With the purpose of an ethnographic description of different levels of experience, accuracy consists in specifying as clearly as possible the particular level of data on which particular conclusions rest, while not assuming that one level is more valid than another.

But because the ethnographic text is a composite picture achieved through the perspectives of several individuals within the family and that of the ethnographer, it is often difficult to sort out the different perspectives and different kinds of data that are present in the text.

Since conventions for making such distinctions have not been fully worked out, it should be helpful to present some examples. Table B gives examples of data in the ethnographic text in the four families taken from ethnographers' reports and from tape recordings of family members. A variety of kinds of statements can be distinguished and illustrated: reports (1) of recent events, (2) of attitudes, values and beliefs; descriptions (1) of actions, (2) of physical environments; characterizations (1) of self, (2) of others; interpretations (1) of events, (2) of motives and attitudes; evaluations (1) of self, (2) of others, (3) of events; recollections (1) of past events, (2) of individuals.

These examples of levels of data in ethnographic texts should be instructive in helping to analyze the complex stream of activity and interactions that constitute the relationship between the ethnographer and the family members and the situations in which ethnograpic materials are constructed. The materials in Table B are illustrative. Additional categories could have been added, and it is often difficult to classify a particular statement. The statement such as "I admire my mother" could be both a characterization of a relationship and an evaluation. The purpose of the table is not to achieve firm classification of particular statements, but to make clear to ethnographic researchers the numerous levels of data that comprise the ethnographic text.

Certain gaps in the table are themselves instructive of points where the collaborative venture of ethnography remains onesided. Characterizations of self, for example, were not commonly made by the ethnographers, although actions of the ethnographers were reported.

TABLE B

EXAMPLES OF LEVELS OF DATA IN ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

	By Family Members	By Ethnographers
Reports of		
(1) Recent events	(1) Today I saved almost a dollar.	(1) Many remarks were made blaming TV.
(2) Attitudes, Values, Beliefs	(2) I think it's worthwhile to go there.	(2) She showed pride in economizing.
Descriptions of		
(3) Actions	(3) --	(3) She took some steaks out of the refrigerator and started cutting them.
(4) Physical Environments	(4) --	(4) The shows were all watched on the Spanish station.
Characterizations of		
(5) Self	(5) I don't have the patience [to help son with school work].	(5) --
(6) Others	(6) He buys the first thing he sees.	(6) She maintained a tight rein over costs.
(7) Relationships	(7) I'm not going to allow him to do that nonsense.	(7) She maintained her decision making status vis-a-vis her husband.

TABLE B (continued)

	By Family Members	By Ethnographers
Interpretations of		
(8) Events	(8) [He is not doing well in school/] His friends do not help him.	(8) It implied a certain high regard for professionals.
(9) Motives, Attitudes	(9) If he does not know anything about [a school meeting], he becomes bored.	(9) He liked to settle down for his soap operas.
Evaluations of		
(10) Self	(10) I was an idiot [not to spend more time with children's school work].	(10) --
(11) Others	(11) He's a good husband except that he drinks some.	(11) Her kitchen was efficiently organized.
(12) Events	(12) It's our last alternative.	(12) It seemed as if the parents were mugging in front of the camera.
Recollections of		
(13) Past events	(13) A lot of women died...women were treated as animals.	(13) --
(14) Individuals	(14) My mother had a nice midwife.	(14) --

Recollections of the past were also not made by the ethnographers, whereas descriptions of physical actions of other family members and descriptions of the physical environment, while they could be obtained in interviews, were not common.

The table is also a useful reminder of the caution with which conclusions must be drawn about characteristics of a family. The ethnographic texts consist of statements by ethnographers and family members made at a particular moment in time, with reference to the present, the recent past, or the more distant past. What this text represents as a sample of the family's life is problematic. While sampling procedures have been highly developed in survey research, for example, where sampling is related to demographic characteristics of an individual, the issue of how to sample events within a stream of activity has received less attention.

One sampling question faced by the ethnographer consists of attempting to distinguish routine from special events. This may be done by asking whether an event is routine, or by observation. For example, the analysis by the ethnographer that "since they at no time indicated any behavior that would suggest that this was something exceptional, it was was interpreted as being a routine occurrence" (p. 26).

If one compares the kinds of statements made by ethnographers and those made by family members, some differences in tone emerge. While the descriptions of the ethnographers contain terms that represent evaluations and interpretations of motivations, these are generally phrased with caution, for example, "he seemed not to object." Where descriptive terms lack qualifications such as "he seemed to," one tends to question the accuracy, wonder how the ethnographer knew, or what right the ethnographer had to make a judgment, for example, in saying, "her kitchen was efficiently organized."

At the same time, the statements of family members about themselves and others are filled with judgments, evaluations and interpretations of the subjective states of others. Indeed, this is a basic feature of everyday interaction, and one where everyday understandings do not in fact differ drastically from the understandings of the social scientist.

IX. CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Everyday Analysis and Interpretation of Behavior as Cognitive Processes

In attempting to distinguish the various levels of data in an ethnographic text that combines the points of view of family members and an ethnographer, it becomes clear that the everyday analysis of behavior by family members is not entirely different from the analysis carried out by social scientists. Family members, too, are engaged in reporting events, attitudes, values, and beliefs; in characterizing themselves, others, and their relationships; in interpreting events and the motives, attitudes, and subjective responses of others; in appraising

and evaluating themselves and others; and in constructing and reconstructing the past and relating it to evaluations of the present and to plans for the future. Originally, we were looking for the intellectual skills inherent in decisions in particular activities. While such decisions are important, as we have illustrated above, with respect to both small-scale and larger decisions, it has become clear that a pervasive area in which cognitive processes can be detected and analyzed is in the "social science" analysis carried out by family members themselves. We point to this as a new perspective which should offer a basis for further research.

A few examples of everyday analysis of education in families should illustrate the importance of this perspective. Mr. Lopez, for example, in attempting to analyze the reasons for his son's lack of achievement in school, points to peer influences, noting "his friends do not help him...he plays a lot." He also notes the importance of parental attention, in saying, "I don't have the patience" to spend time with him (p. 30). Similarly, Mrs. Sosa indicates her analysis that, if she were able to devote time to work with her children on their schoolwork, this would help them, indicating that she felt, "I was an idiot" not to have spent more time with them (p. 38). Another example of the analysis of social behavior by family members in the Sosa family can be seen when one of the boys appraises various opinions about why his mother left Puerto Rico. "People said that she abandoned us," but he explained that he did not accept this view; he believed that she left because his father "battered her and used to hit her" (p. 46). In the Taylor family, Mrs. Taylor explained her view that reading of religious literature has been responsible for raising reading scores. Mrs. Taylor also analyzed the impact of television viewing on children's education, concluding that the impact was powerful and, therefore, television viewing should be monitored, not only in terms of whether it was "suitable" for them, but in terms of "whether or not they got the message... that the show was trying to relate to them" (p. 56). Mrs. Taylor also analyzed the importance of traditions and their significance for the present, saying, "Our family has always been strong on tradition and maintaining certain photographs and reliving all these memories from the past....It gives us a sense of well-being about ourselves and where we were yesterday and where we're going tomorrow" (p. 57).

These illustrations imply that analysis of social relationships and their effects on individuals are a repeated subject of everyday thinking. This thinking rests on a logic that is often very similar to the logic of the behavioral sciences. Indeed, the differences between everyday thinking about education and behavioral science thinking are often so subtle that they are difficult to detect. For example, concepts of causation are inherent to everyday thinking, although these may be less complex than in scientific formulations. In fact, a peculiar kind of reversal may arise when a scientific approach that attempts an initial description without positing or attempting to establish causal relationships is employed as the basis for describing a social situation in which concepts of a causal connection, for example, between parents' attitudes and children's characteristics are part of everyday thinking.

This is one of the reasons why research on the family is so difficult. Since beliefs about the nature of influence, for example, of parents on children, are so much a part of everyday family life and held with such emotional force, an analysis which does not attempt to confront or verify these everyday assumptions seems peculiarly remote. Yet, a description of beliefs about the effects of family relationships on the individual's approach to education is a significant scientific task, and a point of departure for further study of the character and quality of everyday thinking.

Educative Styles and Agendas as Interaction--Pedagogic Styles and Agendas

One of the concerns in the present research was to find ways to conceptualize and observe the intersection between individual characteristics and social situations. This was a central issue in the initial formulation of the concept of educative style. Yet, as discussed above, the concepts of educative styles and educative agendas, although explicitly referring to both characteristics of individuals and to characteristics of situations, had been described in terms that referred largely to individuals.

The debate as to whether educational achievements and failures are the product of individual characteristics or social situations will no doubt continue for years to come. Both families and schools can be approached through social or cultural analysis that endeavors to show how their organization as socially constructed situations and their place in the larger society and culture conditions the performance of individuals. At the same time, both families and schools can be looked at as settings in which characteristics of individuals are molded, sustained and modified. Strong arguments can be made, at present, for attempting to understand families and schools as social settings, to counteract the emphasis on individual traits and abilities that has been prevalent in educational thinking. Yet an approach that ignores individual characteristics is limited because it makes it impossible to understand adequately how education in one institution is related to education in another. While it is possible to examine the relationships among educational institutions in institutional terms, for example, considering similarities and differences in education in families and in schools, or formal roles that link the two institutions, this is not the same as examining how the individual combines or transfers learning from one situation to another (Leichter, 1979). In order to understand how the individual moves through, engages in, and combines educational experiences in different settings, it is necessary to have a framework for understanding the structure of situations and also one for understanding what the individual carries from one situation to another.

One approach to the analysis of the enduring characteristics that individuals carry with them from one situation to another, and over time, is biographical study. Biographies often reveal inconsistencies, ironies, and transformations in the life of an individual that serve as a useful caution against facile assumptions that a particular situation

is of lasting impact on the individual, whether this be an early experience in the family or an early experience in the school.

Another approach to the issue of how the individual transfers experience from one setting to another is observation of the individual in one situation followed by observation of the individual in another situation. One example of research that has explicitly attempted to examine a non-school setting to determine how school-related cognitive skills were applied in this situation is the work of Jean Lave and colleagues in the study of mathematical skills employed in supermarket shopping (Rogoff and Lave, forthcoming). In this research, an effort was made to examine the carryover of mathematical skills and abilities from one setting, school, to another, the supermarket, as well as the way in which the social organization of the setting, in the supermarket, fostered the use of particular skills and the formation of particular kinds of solutions to problems. This is one useful model. But further attention is required to develop approaches to observing and understanding the intersection of individual characteristics and social situations in families.

Our examination of the levels of data inherent in ethnographic texts gives some clues about ways of approaching the intersection of individual characteristics and social settings. The analysis of the ethnographic texts reveals that in discussions with ethnographers family members commonly characterize each other in descriptive and evaluative terms. The characterization that one family member has of another may, therefore, be presumed to be part of their interaction. In terms of the classic sociological concept of "role expectations," these characterizations may be considered to represent expectations that one individual has of another. For example, the statement by Mrs. Taylor about her children, "They are very inquisitive children," represents a characterization of their approaches to education that was the basis for her assignment of responsibilities to them and the ways in which she monitored their schoolwork and television viewing. Another example is the characterization of Mr. Lopez that his wife "does not speak English very well, she almost does not speak it, although she understands it more or less..." (p. 32), which was the basis for his taking her to and from hospitals and carefully explaining to her how to purchase prescriptions. At the same time, he assumed that she would be able to manage because of his characterization that "she is very fast and memorizes it...her mother was the same way" (p. 32). Yet another example is Mrs. Taylor's characterization of her husband as "very good at these things" [chess and backgammon] that was the basis for her assumption that he would take certain educational responsibilities with the children.

These are but a few examples of what might be termed "spontaneous characterizations" of others in the family, that is, characterizations that came up in the course of interviews and discussions of how certain activities were carried out. The fact that these characterizations come up without specific questioning suggests their importance as a recurrent aspect of family interaction. Thus, one direction for further research is a more detailed examination and analysis of the ways in which one

family member characterizes the educative styles and agendas of another. It seems likely that observations and interviews focused on how parents see distinctions among siblings would be one useful approach. And how siblings characterize each other would also be significant.

An additional approach to the problem of how to understand the intersection between individual characteristics and social situations may be achieved through adding the concept of pedagogic styles and agendas to that of educative styles and agendas. Educative styles and agendas refer to the approach of an individual to education in a variety of settings, in a sense to the self-education in which the individual engages even in formal educational institutions. But the concept of pedagogic style and agenda adds the perspective of others in the situation.

In the analysis of schools, the perspective of the teacher has been approached in countless studies, but in the analysis of families as educators, the analysis of the pedagogic style of parents or other family members as educators of others has received little explicit attention.

Yet in analyzing the data, perhaps in part as a result of our partially unintended emphasis on the role of mothers, what has emerged is a picture of their concepts of themselves as teachers of their children--a picture that reveals different pedagogic styles in approaching their children's education and somewhat different pedagogic agendas for their children.

The ethnographic texts contain explicit comments about kinds of pedagogy that are believed to be most effective. For some, demonstration is seen as preferable to explanation. This is illustrated, for example, in Mr. Lopez's explanation of learning carpentry from his father "by watching...by doing and staring, I finally learned and his instructions became less and less necessary....I learned masonry the same way...by watching people" (p. 31). And, as will be recalled, his son Jamie made a similar point when he talked about learning to make pancakes, saying that nobody taught him--"I learned it from my mother...just by watching her" (p. 31).

An emphasis on listening as a way of learning, and allowing occasions for others to listen as a form of pedagogy, was also found in the Lopez family in the discussions of how Mr. Lopez learned English, "talking to people as well as listening to them" (p. 31), and in Mrs. Lopez's description of her pedagogy in teaching religion to her children, where she explained, "I read the Bible aloud...if they don't read it, at least by listening to me they can learn from my reading" (p. 34).

Another area in which beliefs about appropriate family pedagogy are to be found concerns the importance of modeling educational behavior for children. Mrs. Sosa, for example, explicitly pointed out that she believed her own efforts to attend college would set an example for her children and that they would, therefore, "struggle to succeed in school" (p. 44).

Pedagogical concepts also include beliefs about the specific form of educational procedures that are appropriate under particular circumstances. For example, Mrs. Taylor's description of the importance of "question-and-answer type situations" (p. 55), as set up by the Jehovah's Witnesses, as an appropriate way of teaching religion, one so effective that she believed it had improved city-wide reading scores for those who studied in this way. Another example is the discussion with the Lopez family of educational procedures in the Seventh Day Adventist Church. The discussion also indicated that particular kinds of pedagogy were most desirable. Statements about these pedagogies were observed when the ethnographer went to the church, and the pastor said, "The Bible must be read everyday, preferably during the morning. You eat everyday, you sleep everyday, and you have to develop a lot of habits that you execute everyday...reading the Bible should be a daily task" (p. 29), so that the emphasis on repetition and routine was part of the concept of appropriate pedagogy. In both of these families, concepts about pedagogies that are appropriate within the family could be seen to derive in part from an outside institution. But whatever their source, the concept that particular pedagogical procedures should be applied within the family was clear.

Pedagogical styles and agendas also contain concepts of appropriate forms of supervision, reward and punishment. In the Sosa family, partly because of time constraints through her own studies, Mrs. Sosa seemed to believe that the children should carry on their homework without extensive supervision, saying, in reprimanding her son for poor grades in school, "I told you, if you don't study, that's your problem. I have no time to do the homework with you" (p. 38). At the same time, she reprimanded him for his poor grades, saying, "Go away....I don't want to talk to you" (p. 38). In the Taylor family, the description of the concept of how to approach supervision of children's work included explicit monitoring and evaluation, in part again drawn from models of religious education on the part of Jehovah's Witnesses, where a specific kind of six-minute presentation and an evaluation of this presentation served as a kind of report card (p. 55). It was also evident in the Taylor family that the concept of the appropriate parental pedagogy with respect to television included explicit monitoring--"We try to monitor that" (p. 56). Mrs. Halliburton indicated that her concept of appropriate supervision also included fairly explicit monitoring of children and periodically checking to see if things were done properly. At the same time, a kind of honor system was built in, since "I can't follow them around all the time. I have to depend on their honesty" (p. 50).

The concept of education within families needs to be formulated in terms that allow for what Cremin has called the "profound ironies" of educational transactions, whereby "what is taught is not always what is desired and vice versa, what is taught is not always what is learned, and vice versa" (Cremin, 1973). The pedagogic styles and agendas of parents do not necessarily have a direct impact upon the educative styles and agendas of their children, but, in efforts to understand the intersection between individual approaches to education and the social situations in which these approaches are developed, modified and sustained, a concept of approaches to pedagogy on the part of family

members is a significant step forward in attempting to map out educational interactions within the family.

X. REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY

As indicated in the begining, the present study was a small-scale exploration, conceived as a first step in attempting to find ways to examine educative styles and agendas and cognitive processes in everyday family life through ethnographic and grounded theory methods.

Since ethnographic procedures are fast becoming a near "fad" in some areas of educational research, it seems useful to conclude with some thoughts about the conditions under which this kind of effort is appropriate and some further reflections on the nature of ethnographic texts.

It should be clear, from the materials presented in this report, that ethnography is an arduous, time-consuming, and emotionally draining enterprise. The problems of negotiating entry into the life of a family, of handling issues of intrusion and privacy, and the intellectual stress of attempting to order the numerous levels of data into conceptual frameworks that differ from the flow of behavior from which they occur, make ethnographic approaches costly and difficult. Yet they remain of special value.

Issues in the Recording and Description of Ethnographic Data

Participant and Audience Structures and the Validity of Data. It should be useful to clarify certain issues in the recording and description of ethnographic data--that is, the creation of ethnographic text--that have come up in the course of our research.

As we came to think of the field notes as ethnographic texts, combining the perspectives of numerous individuals in a situation, issues of the validity of the data were seen in a new perspective. In clarifying the wide variety of types of statements that were made by family members and by ethnographers, it became clear that these statements took many different forms, yet all had a certain level of accuracy; that is to say, all of the statements represented "true" constructs made at a particular moment, for a particular purpose. But it then became especially important to clarify not only the level of the staement made by the individual, but the circumstance in which it was made, that is, who was being addressed in front of whom. To put it slightly differently, it was necessary to specify the participants and the audience for a particular comment. In one case, where the tape recorder was left with the family to record segments of their conversation, it was clear from the content of the discussion, from the phrasing, and from certain asides about whether they had given Dr. P. what he needed, that the ethnographer was very much a part of the audience, even though he was not there physically. Statements made in this conversation were clearly both for the "benefit" of the ethnographer and perhaps also of

others that might hear the tape. A strong emphasis in this tape was on presenting the family's ideals with respect to the education of their children. This does not, however, invalidate the materials; rather, it means that one must understand this production in terms of who was present, and who was considered to be the audience.

Shift in the character and quality of discussion from one moment to another within the family, in different clusterings of individuals, and in front of different outsiders are a basic feature of family interaction and one that warrants further study. Some researchers have given vivid examples of such shifts in the family's presentation of itself to an outsider at different times (Cottle, 1974). Conceptions of what is appropriate under different circumstances, and skill in modifying one's conversation to adjust to different audiences, are in fact cognitive skills that can readily be seen in family conversations where shifts in the clusters of individuals in conversation with each other are common.

Such shifts can be detected through the subtleties of ethnographic observation. These shifts, from moment to moment, in the structure and nature of conversations mean that, even where tape-recording and transcription of tape-recording are done, the interpretation of the conversation requires further description by the ethnographer of the context in which the discussion took place. Conventions for transcription, for example, from linguistics, offer models that are quite precise, but such recordings still cover only a small segment of a family's life, and it is necessary to make clear what the segment is and who was present. The combination of methods--of observing and recording--that are basic to the ethnographic studies of families is of particular value in mapping out the participant and audience structures of conversations and interviews.

Descriptions and Judgments. Where descriptive field notes were written by the observer, during the session or immediately following it, we found the issue of how to describe and individual, event, or an interaction were complex. While some conventions for such descriptions have been spelled out in prior research (Barker and Wright, 1949), it remains extremely difficult to write ethnographic narratives that describe events in terms that convey the immediacy and richness of a situation while avoiding judgmental terms. The more readable field notes were often replete with descriptive terms, such as "a congenial person," "a messy room," "the mother beat the drum and the other members followed," "her kitchen was efficiently organized." These descriptions were from an external point of view, that of the observer, and often for the sake of conveying a vivid picture, evaluative phrases slipped in, even when the intent was to describe and not to evaluate. However, without such descriptive terms the field notes often appeared empty and artificial.

Beyond this, there was a problem of the point of view of the observer as compared with the point of view of the individuals being observed. For example, not infrequently the observer made evaluations of the subjective response of the individuals being observed. If the observation was phrased more cautiously, for example, by adding "he

seemed content," this still did not entirely remove the problem. The observer was inferring the response of the individual from observations that were only partially available in the field notes, and no matter how accurate these observations might be, they were not a sufficient basis for such inference. The issue is compounded by the fact that inferences about subjective states of others are a routine and necessary part of everyday interaction and the vocabulary for making such judgments widely available. Even if the scientific goal is to avoid inferences with respect to subjective states of others, the vocabulary for describing without such inferences is lacking. Collecting extensive data on a family, from a variety of points of view, and combining these data with other procedures, to some extent makes it possible to get around these problems, at least by comparing different levels of data. Still, we found that the narrative of the most skilled ethnographers, and the analysis that ensued, almost always included descriptive and evaluative comments at some point.

The issue of finding ways of describing without employing terms that are implicitly judgmental is crucial in the collaborative relationship between the ethnographer and the family membrs. Ideally, we anticipated that we would present our findings to the family for their evaluation and discussion, this being essential if the venture is to be truly collaborative. It is also a useful check on whether one's phrasing of the analysis reflects the perspectives of the family. In the present research, it proved impossible to show the analysis to the families because some of them had left the city by the time the analysis was completed, and it was not feasible in other families because of limitations of their time and ours. It seems likely, however, that a discussion of the narrative about the family with them would reveal points at which additional cautions would be required in the use of descriptive terms. This is not unique to this particular research, but is a general problem to which others should be alerted. The best we could do was to attempt, in the analysis, to be as clear as possible at all the points at which judgmental terms slipped into the descriptions.

Personal Pronouns and Personal Names as Reflections of Epistemological Assumptions. Some further issues in the recording and presentation of ethnographic data should be clarified. These are important because conventions in this area have yet to be worked out, and the ethnographic researcher must improvise or develop procedures in the course of research. We believe our experience in this respect should be useful to others.

As noted above, "thick description," to use the term of Clifford Geertz, implies description of the subtlest aspects of a social scene. As he puts it, descriptions of "winks upon winks upon winks" (Geertz, 1973, p. 9). But when one comes to wording such descriptions, one confronts many choices that reflect the methodological stance.

For some time, it has been a tradition in the behavioral sciences to strive for "objective" writing. This is reflected in the convention, rather emphatically ascribed to by many, that scientific writing should

be in the passive voice. "It was observed" is felt to be appropriate; "I observed" or "We observed" is found unacceptable. More recently, recognition has come to the fore that some forms of behavioral science research, those involving participant or personal observation, are in fact a highly personal enterprise in which the background of the observer plays a crucial part. Objectivity in this kind of research derives from recognizing the characteristic biases of the researcher rather than attempting to remove these biases and to strive for a kind of "false objectivity" by assuming that the person making the observation is not a person but some sort of neutral instrument. Margaret Mead and Rhoda Metraux in discussing methods for the study of culture at a distance, a form of urban ethnography, emphasized the importance of recognizing and taking advantage of the "uniuque configuration of perception, training, and experience of the individual research worker," rather than presuming to depend on the "uniformities among intelligent, highly trained individuals" (Mead and Metraux, 1953, pp. 86-87). By contrast, others working in ecological psychology during the same period, such as Barker and Wright (1951), attempted to regularize observations and "insure the record against any one person's idiosyncracies--unconscious biases and perceptual bents" by having different observers for different segments of time.

With the more recent upsurge in ethnography in urban settings, the acceptable use in recording and reporting ethnographic data has shifted. "I observed" or "We observed" is seen as appropriate; "It was observed" as an inappropriate mark of pseudo-objectivity. Yet the conventions are still sufficiently in flux, so that decisions about how to record and present ethnographic data are far from automatic. For example, in editing and reviewing the material presented in this report, we struggled with the use of personal pronouns, particularly since several parties were involved in the analysis and writing. "I observed" was an accurate statement by the ethnographer who made the observation, yet a shift was required when an analyst who was not the observer attempted to report the data. We found as we analyzed the text carefully that we wavered from such terms as "the ethnographer said" to "It was noted by the observer" to "Our observer felt" to "We conclude." In reworking the materials, we attempted to become more explicit and consistent, believing that inconsistencies might "throw off" the reader and undermine the sense of detailed accuracy which was evident in the field notes.

A number of revisions were made. Since "our observer" seemed to bring in an inappropriate possessive note, this was changed to "the observer." We have attempted to be as consistent as possible. The goal has been to make clear in the phrasing of the text the level of data on which the text is based. Linguistic analysts have highly sensitive readings of these issues, but this subtlety has not been applied directly to conventions of ethnographic recording and presentation. One consultant noted, in discussing these matters, that extremely subtle points, often those that cannot be explicitly articulated, may "throw off" a reader in ways that disconcert or even lead to dismissal of a text, or doubt about its veracity or significance. Yet these points may be so minor that it takes extensive work to ferret them out, and even then one may not be

able to pinpoint the offending usage (Eric Larsen, personal communication). We urge that the reader who detects some slippage in our usage or who is uncomfortable with the unscientific use of "we" realize that this is not a mindless slip but a deliberate effort to develop new conventions, and that the inconsistences which no doubt remain in this area should become a basis for further thinking about these issues.

A related issue concerns the use of personal names. Since one assumption in our approach to ethnography was that the personal characteristics of the ethnographer should be acknowledged and recognized, we originally used first names in the report where the ethnographers were mentioned, i.e., Carmen and Royce. In reviewing the test, this seemed problematic. First, because there were numerous individuals involved in different segments of conversation, particularly in the Hispanic families, it was confusing to have yet another first name for the reader to keep in mind. So in one draft we changed from Carmen to "the observer." But since the researcher was both observer and interviewer, attempting to gather a wide range of data, the term "ethnographer" seemed more accurate. Both "observer" and "ethnographer" were neutral terms that to some extent removed the personal element and the reminder that the ethnicity of the ethnographer matched that of the families. It also masked the distinction between the two ethnographers, one female and the other male. Still use of "the ethnographer," for both, seemed preferable to the use of first names.

Having made the change from "Carmen" and "Royce" first to "the observer" and then to "the ethnographer," a peculiar lack of parallelism emerged when "the ethnographer" was juxtaposed with the first names of the family members, e.g., "ethnographer"/"Asuncion." This seemed inconsistent with the ideal that the research enterprise be a collaborative venture between the ethnographer and the participating families.

A further problem arose in the use of personal names for family members. For consistency, and for the sake of trying to create a sense of the immediacy of the data, we tried to use first names throghout. At one point in the description of the Lopez family, the text read, "The father, Mr. Lopez, referred to hereafter as Don Celso." Yet a closer examination revealed that he was not always referred to as Don Celso. In fact, in a quotation from his wife, he was referred to as "Lopez."

We were also mindful of issues of dignity and the fact that terms of reference and address were highly charged; that the use of a first name, either as a term of address or reference, when done in a way that is inappropriate to the roles and the situations, could be seen as a sign of disrespect or, in the extreme, as a prejudicial put-down. In re-examining the text with respect to the use of first names, we discovered that in fact we had not been as consistent as we thought. In the Hispanic families first names were used, except as noted, where the family members themselves used other terms. But this use of first names seemed to have a different effect in different families. It seemed less inappropriate in the case of the mother in the Sosa family, who was a college student and politically active. In reviewing the text on the Black families, we noted that where the text was drawn from the original

descriptions by the Black ethnographer, last names were used, "Mrs. Halliburton" and "Mrs. Taylor." First names were used where we had taken the text from tape-recordings and inserted names to indicate the speaker before a quotation.

In order to convey respect for the participating families, and to emphasize the ideally collaborative nature of the relationship between the "ethnographer" and "the family member," we therefore changed the text to the "ethnographer" and "Mr." or Mrs." with the last name for the parents, reserving first names for the children. This decision was made in the interest of consistency, but it still applies with different force to the different families.

This discussion should not be taken as a minor footnote. It is precisely an understanding of subtleties in the forms of texts that is the enterprise of ethnographic research. In the present research, the "winks within winks" to which Geertz refers in his discussion of "think description" are winks within winks described by an ethnographer and analyzed and reported by yet another researcher. It is only through efforts to become more explicitly aware of the constructed nature of text in ethnography and the points at which different individuals enter into this construction that the ethnographic approach can become more systematic.

A final note: We have used "we" not as the "royal we" but to refer to the "collective opinion" of the several people who participated in the research and analysis. Sometimes this implies a common perspective agreed upon by all, when there might have been differences of emphasis. The traditions with respect to the use of personal pronouns in social science writing are still in flux, so that it remains difficult to use "I," at least in a collaborative venture.

Conditions When Ethnographic Methods are Appropriate

It should be useful at this point to spell out the conditions under which intensive examination of families in their natural environments is the method of choice. We now believe that these methods are only appropriate when at least the following conditions apply:

(1) When significant social or cultural categories are not known by the researcher, an understanding of these is essential for the research, and time is therefore required to learn the culture of the family, for example, if beliefs about what constitutes competent or "efficient" organization of the household are not known to the researcher.

(2) When the natural setting is presumed to have characteristics that differ from specially arranged laboratory or experimental settings, for example, when a particular task is attended to in the course of multiple, simultaneously occuring family activities, and the nature of the attention is therefore different from that of specially arranged settings where distractions have been minimized.

(3) When natural settings can be presumed to have features that cannot be conveyed by report, or when the level of data in which one is interested cannot be conveyed by report, for example, when one is interested in "micro" features of conversations, the timing of and the sequencing of questions, answers, and further questions, or the visual and special arrangements in the home, that cannot be conveyed by report.

(4) When the data in which one is interested can be presumed to "surface" only with special kinds of rapport and only at times that are difficult to anticipate so that patient waiting is required, for example, when it is impossible to anticipate when and where spontaneous characterizations about another family member's approach to education will arise.

(5) When research is theory discovering and the questions are not entirely specified in advance, for example, when working with a sensitizing concept such as educative styles and agendas which direct attention in a general but not a detailed way to such features as ways of searching for and appraising information.

It should be clear that the questions in the present study of cognitive processes in everyday family life met these criteria, and an open-ended ethnographic approach therefore was appropriate.

Yet in ethnographic approaches it is difficut to obtain a balance between open-ended observation and scanning of the field of the sort that makes it possible to obtain a rounded and reasonably complete picture of the setting and larger context in which particular performances are enacted, and a focused observation on particular kinds of events. Ideally, a grounded theory approach makes it possible to analyze data as they are obtained and, on the basis of initial analysis, to focus further observation more precisely. While we have, in fact, done just this at some points in the research, in practice, because of the contingency of scheduling, the variability of family activities and the difficulty of analysis of initial data, grounded theory is extremely difficult to carry out in its ideal form. At the very least, it requires considerable flexibility of design and scheduling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Among the most difficult parts of ethnographic and grounded theory research are the training of new ethnographers and the coordination of teamwork. For one thing, descriptive writing is difficult in any mode, and as discussed above, conventions for writing descriptions that are vivid yet non-judgmental are hard to find. Beyond this, even the best and fullest field notes are difficult for another researcher to analyze, particularly since descriptions that are inevitably evaluative and, more specific, statements of how, when, and where, particular events took place become to some extent intermingled. Oral discussions with ethnographers almost always revealed aspects of family life that were not contained in the field notes, even when the notes were extensive. But beyond this, the problem of focusing and specifying further points for observation required discussion and analysis, and was extremely time-consuming. Yet, without this early discussion, the grounded theory

model of alternation between data gathering and analysis cannot take place.

It would be nice if one could say that in a future study one could move immediately into more focused interviewing and observing. The present research has clarified the complex levels of data in ethnographic texts. And it has suggested certain conceptual frameworks that should help to approach the issue of how individual characteristics intersect with social situations; first, suggesting an examination of how individuals characterize the approaches to education of others, and second, an examination of the pedagogic styles and agendas of family members as these influence educative styles and agendas of others. The present research has also pointed to the importance of everyday analysis of social behavior and education as a basic area in which to examine cognitive processes. But further study of this point would still require initial exposure to the particular situation of a family as essential context for more focused observations.

In sum, what we have accomplished so far is the first stage of grounded theory research on the cognitive processes in everyday family life. We anticipate that this will be the basis for further stages of this approach. To paraphrase the conclusion to David Olson's book with which we began, we are now equipped with a new set of conjectures about families as educators and a new perspectives on ethnographic methods, "conjectures that would probably serve better to introduce a volume than to conclude one." We hope our conjectures too will become an introduction.

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